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NARRATIVE

OF A VISIT TO

BRAZIL, CHILE, PERU,

AND THE

SANDWICH ISLANDS,

DURING THE YEARS 1821 AND 1822.

WITH

MISCELLANEOUS REMARKS

ON THE PAST AND PRESENT STATE, AND POLITICAL

PROSPECTS OF THOSE COUNTRIES.

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BY

GILBERT FARQUHAR-MATHISON, Esq.

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TO THE REVEREND

CHARLES R. SUMNER, A. M.

DOMESTIC CHAPLAIN TO HIS MAJESTY

AND

PREBENDARY OF CANTERBURY,

This Volume

IS INSCRIBED,

IN TOKEN OF AFFECTIONATE RESPECT,

BY

HIS MUCH OBLIGED FRIEND AND SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

LONDON, JUNE 22, 1825.

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ERRATA.

Page	16, l.	7,	*for* Orgoas,	*read* Orgãos.
	17 —	12,	— Illu,	— Aldéa.
	19 —	5,	— Sept. 23,	— Sept. 3.
	63 —	7,	— these,	— those.
	103 —	10,	— *Capitano,*	— *Capitão.*
	122 —	6,	— *Commandant,*	— *Commandante.*
	176 —	14,	— *sesta,*	— *siesta.*
	186 —	17,	— *Caso do,*	— *Casa de.*
	———	18,	— hospital,	— arsenal.
	197 —	10,	— 1805,	— 1818.
	250 —	17,	— showed,	— shown.
	289 —	18,	— was,	— were.
	301 —	22,	— *bon,*	— *bonne.*
	334 —	13 & 23,	— has,	— have.
	357 —	11,	— plunders,	— blunders.
	373 —	11,	— dishabille,	— *déshabillé.*
	439 —	1,	— 15° 54′ to 16° 24′	— 154° 54′ to 160° 24′.

BRAZIL.

NARRATIVE,

&c.

BRAZIL.

CHAPTER I.

VOYAGE, AND RIO JANEIRO.

ON Sunday, May 27, 1821, I sailed from Lisbon in the Vasco da Gama, a Portuguese Indiaman, burden 800 tons, bound to Rio Janeiro, Manilla, and Macao. Another ship of 600 tons, likewise bound to Brazil and the East Indies, accompanied us; for large merchantmen seldom sail alone, through fear of pirates, who, under South American colours, have, since the late war between Brazil and Buenos Ayres, committed great depredations on the Portuguese trade. Some vessels had even been captured within sight of the coast of Portugal. The practice has

been to land the crews at Madeira, and to sell the captured vessels in the United States. Indeed, it is well understood that the Americans have generally been the principal agents engaged in this species of predatory warfare: they act under letters of marque obtained from the Government of Buenos Ayres, while the crews are mostly Americans, or any thing but Buenos-Ayreans.

The Vasco da Gama mounted 20 guns, and her companion, Nossa Senhora da Luz (Our Lady of the Light), was of the same force.—On board the latter was a Lieutenant of the Navy, called *Commandante*, and employed expressly to direct our tactics in case of an attack. Whenever a sail hove in sight, up went the signal for a suspicious vessel: as it approached, the signal for preparation was hoisted; the drum beat to quarters; the hatches were closed; the females, surgeon, and friar, sent below; the men stationed at the guns, with matches ready lighted; the passengers drawn out upon the quarter-deck—some with muskets, others with sabres, and boarding-pikes; and all, either through ignorance or awkwardness, pre-

sented an appearance so grotesque and ill suited to any real engagement, that the scene, stripped of its terrors by needless repetition, became at length positively ludicrous. When this happened to take place at night, the confusion exceeded all description; and the hubbub of voices, the rattling of arms, the gleaming of lanterns, the crying of women and children, and the firing of signal-guns, added to the general fright inspired by the supposed enemy, brought to mind the attack made upon Sancho Panza, in his island of Barrataria. The disorder, want of discipline, and alarm, which prevailed on these occasions, were in fact so great, that we must have fallen an easy prey to any pirate that attacked us; but fortunately we pursued the even tenor of our way unmolested, and at length safely reached the place of destination.

Previously to the Revolution and establishment of the Cortes in Portugal, it was unlawful for any foreigner to take his passage on board a Portuguese Indiaman. It may, therefore, be new and interesting to some readers, to know the economy of the ship, and the manner in which

things were conducted.—First in command came the owner, who, not being himself a sailor, merely superintended the business of the equipage generally: under him were three mates, and three junior mates, termed *pilotos*; a *contramestre*, or boatswain, who was responsible for the security of the whole cargo, in addition to his other duties; and a sergeant of marines: a surgeon and friar completed the establishment; and it may here be observed, that no Portuguese ship of large size sails without one, and often with two chaplains.

Mass was performed regularly on Sundays, and vespers said every Saturday evening.—The effect, at sea, was peculiarly solemn and affecting, when, on a fine moonlight evening in a tropical latitude, the chant of the mariners rose in wild and not immelodious notes upon the wind; all kneeling in apparent devotion round the altar, where the priest officiated,—some telling their beads in silence, others muttering an *Ave Maria* or *Pater Noster*, or calling out the responses, with accents hoarse and strange to an English ear. Then ever and anon the plaintive chant of

Mater Purissima, ora pro nobis, was sung by the priest below, and re-echoed by those on deck; and the solemn simplicity of the worship, amid such a scene, and at such a time, spoke at once to the heart and imagination, to the religious and poetical feelings, of the audience.

In addition to the officers already enumerated, were two supercargoes, and a number of traders of an inferior class, who were allowed to work their way out as supernumerary servants. The crew, 70 in number, were many of them fine men, but badly disciplined. Each officer carried a cane in his hand, in order to ensure more ready obedience to his commands; yet the greatest inactivity still prevailed, and the old-fashioned practice of taking in sail at night was rigidly adhered to. The *menage,* on board, was abundantly supplied, about a dozen head of bullocks being added to the usual live-stock. The poultry was entirely reserved for the use of the sick among the passengers and crew generally, without any distinction. The former were numerous, and the accommodations bad. The passage-money to China was 600 dollars.

On the 3d of June we landed at Madeira,—a place which the characteristic hospitality of its inhabitants would alone have endeared to my remembrance; but who ever saw, and, having seen, could forget, its gardens and vineyards, and delicious climate and various picturesque beauties? For a constant residence, its circumscribed limits and small society might render it objectionable: but as viewed in the interval of a long voyage, it seems almost like a fairy isle, purposely made to enchant and gladden the soul of the passing traveller.

On Saturday, the 9th of June, we again set sail, and on the 4th of August entered the harbour of Rio Janeiro. The approach from sea reminded me of the scenery of the Trosachs, near Loch Katrine; and as I surveyed the precipitous cliffs, and "Crags, knowls, and mounds, confusedly hurl'd," and other rugged forms into which this remarkable land is broken, it seemed like meeting, in a foreign country, the well-known features of an old friend.

Seldom, indeed, can any striking resemblance be traced between tropical and British scenery; but whenever the imagination does find out kindred

ties, when associations long since cherished and beloved are thus accidentally brought to mind, then is the traveller's enthusiasm doubly felt, and the joys of the moment are doubly enhanced in value, by recurrence to days of past happiness;

> "For not an image, when remotely view'd,
> However trivial and however rude,
> But wins the heart, and wakes the social sigh,
> With every claim of close affinity."

Such were my reflections upon first approaching this celebrated harbour; but I had no sooner landed, than the novelty of the scene, and the characteristic features of a tropical country, soon banished every recollection of our northern wilds.

Few spots in the New World are more deeply indebted to the hand of Nature, than the harbour of Rio; and all possible combinations of picturesque scenery are here included in one magnificent perspective. Since, however, it has been minutely and repeatedly described by other travellers, its beauties need not now be particularized; and, for the same reason, a general description will suffice of the town of St. Sebastian. Like other South American cities, it has no pretensions to

magnificence; nor indeed can it be expected that architecture should have yet attained any great perfection in places of which the founders were needy adventurers, intent only upon the acquisition of wealth, and where the common arts of civilized life are of late and still feeble growth.

Very few towers, domes, or steeples, attract the eye at a distance by their superior height, and no handsome public buildings of any kind adorn the banks. The Government-house, or Palace, and Chapel Royal adjoining, are the principal edifices, and compose two sides of a large square opposite the landing-place. The streets are narrow and filthy; the churches and convents numerous, but rudely built; the houses of stone, generally two stories high, with jalousies painted green before the windows: those of the wealthiest inhabitants have sometimes a large portal and court-yards enclosed within.

The Bank, Exchange, Custom-house, and Arsenal, are all situated in the Rua Direita, along the water-side, but exhibit nothing remarkable. The latter is in very bad order, and seems to have been as much neglected by the Government as the Navy

itself, which is not sufficiently strong to protect Portuguese merchantmen from the insults of pirates, even within sight of the harbour. A large public library, consisting principally of historical and canonical books, brought by the King from Portugal, is open to the public from ten in the morning till one o'clock, and from four to six in the afternoon. Two or three librarians are always in waiting, and pay every suitable attention to such as wish to make use of the library. During my visits I noticed very few native Brazilians who availed themselves of this privilege.

The Museum in the Campo St. Anna, a large square in another quarter of the town, was established, as an inscription over the door testifies, by "His most Faithful Majesty King John VI. the munificent Patron of the Arts:" "*Rex fidelissimus, artium amantissimus*," &c. The collection is small, and the specimens of gold and diamonds form the valuable part of it. One apartment is appropriated to Derbyshire spar, given by Mr. Thornton, the late English Minister, in exchange for Brazilian minerals. The former

is not less prized here than the productions of America are in Europe. Among the objects pointed out as particularly curious, were a stuffed white swan and a little robin-redbreast, neither of which birds are found in Brazil. No place could be found better adapted for a Museum of Natural History than Rio Janeiro, and few countries present a wider range for scientific research than Brazil. Such, however, is the ignorance of the inhabitants, and so numerous have been the obstacles hitherto placed in the way of foreigners, that the past and present afford little matter for observation on the advancement of science: to the future we must rather look, and anticipate the day when a wise and beneficial use shall be made of these advantages, for the promotion of philosophy and general knowledge.

The Theatre, like the Museum, owes its erection to Royal munificence. The house itself is large, and elegantly fitted up; the performance tolerable, although destitute of first-rate actors and musicians. Italian operas, and Portuguese dramas, are alternately represented. The latter appear generally dull, and the unnatural monotony

of the recitation is disagreeable to English ears. The tragedy of *Ignez de Castro* is considered the most perfect; and, being founded upon an affecting and well-known event in Portuguese history, it possesses the additional charm of nationality. The theatre is now the only public place of amusement, the bull-fights having been recently discontinued: these, indeed, do not seem ever to have been conducted with the spirit and enthusiasm which formerly marked such exhibitions in Spain and Portugal.

Church processions are among the most common and most popular of all diversions. They differ little from those which take place in other Catholic countries; but the crowd in the streets, and at the windows of the houses, renders the scene striking, and shows the interest excited by them here. Ladies gladly seize the opportunity, which gruff papas and jealous husbands seldom otherwise afford, of showing themselves in public; and gratify their vanity by displaying a numerous retinue of female slaves, who follow them in file along the streets. Others eye the moving multitude from their own windows, and

throw flowers at their admirers below. Soldiers and officers, arrayed in gaudy uniforms, strut with affected dignity amid the populace; and official characters here ostentatiously exhibit their ribands, stars, crosses, &c. Noisy, and often drunken negroes, fill up the picture, and enjoy a short cessation from their labours; while a few pious persons, in detached groups, gaze upon the sacerdotal show, and cross their breasts, or say a hasty *Pater Noster*, as the procession passes by. Here and there a foreigner may be seen in the crowd, half enjoying, half despising the spectacle, while he gratifies his curiosity by observing national manners, and these characteristic features of the people.

When a traveller first lands at Rio, his attention will be naturally attracted by the appearance of the negroes. Their colour, to which the eye of a European cannot for a long time become familiarized—their savage and uncouth countenances, generally tattoed, or their naked limbs, only sufficiently covered to answer purposes of bare decency—their barbarous language, and noisy vociferations—the wild melody of their national airs, (if the term

may be used,) which they almost invariably sing while at work—the clanking of chains, and the iron collars worn by criminals or runaways in the streets,—these, and other peculiar emblems of barbarism and misery, all concur in exciting surprise, horror, and disgust. The canoes and boats, which ply about the shipping, and between the two sides of the Bay, are manned by the same uncivilized beings, one mulatto or white man sitting at the helm. They are ever ready to profit by any opportunity of plunder; and it is accordingly considered unsafe to trust oneself alone, or unarmed, in their power at night.

Not long after my arrival, I had an opportunity of being present at a splendid ball and supper, given by the officers of the Portuguese army, at the Theatre, in honour of the Constitution. The Prince and Princess graced the festivities of that evening with their presence; but, according to etiquette, only as spectators. The dress and appearance of the ladies at this ball deserved admiration. Many wore a vast profusion of jewels; but beauty, with some few striking exceptions, was infinitely less observable. The gentlemen all

wore uniforms, or Court dresses; and the stars and orders with which the majority were decorated, seemed so numerous and inappropriately bestowed, as to border on the ridiculous. Not so, however, thought they; and not so thought the ladies, who bestowed their smiles and hands with such partiality on this bespangled gentry, that the poor Englishmen present might have envied the possession of similar decorations, if it were only to avert the fate which awaited them of being left completely in the back-ground. Many boys, apparently not more than twelve or fourteen years old, wore tawdry silk Court dresses and stars, which had been obtained in the usual way. Young girls, also, of nine or ten years of age, or still less, were there, magnificently arrayed; and seemed to be as perfect adepts in the arts of flirtation and coquetry, as older and more experienced belles. Among the officers present were several who belonged to a negro regiment; and the contrast between their black countenances and fine white uniforms, of which they seemed not a little proud, made a striking addition to the novelty and ludicrous features of the entertainment.

Soon after my arrival, I took up my residence at Praya Grande, a village on the eastern side of the Bay, for the sake of more quiet and comfortable quarters than could be found in the town of Rio. The distance across the water is four miles. There is the convenience of a steam passage-boat, set up by an American, which passes between this village and Rio twice a day. Here many of the inhabitants retire during certain months of the year, for the advantage of sea-bathing. It is certainly a very agreeable place; and the aspect of the country, every where beautiful, is enlivened by neat villas and plantations. The houses are seldom more than two stories high, with white-washed walls, red-tiled roofs, and porticos in front. The walks and rides in the neighbourhood are charming, particularly in the evening, when the rays of the setting sun gild the waters of the bay, and all nature seems to revive from the effects of excessive heat, under the refreshing influence of the breeze.

The view from the heights above the village is peculiarly fine. The eye glances with rapture over the fertile valleys below, and the noble ex-

panse of water, chequered by boats and shipping in all directions. The town of Rio itself, flanked by the lofty *Corcovado*, or Hump-backed Mountain, on one side, and Sugar-loaf Rock on the other, next enters into the perspective, which is terminated by the huge forms and clouded summits of the Serra dos Orgoas.

But if inanimate objects are so delightful to the senses, the living are not less worthy of admiration. A great variety of birds, of beautiful plumage, people the groves; and the buzz of the tiny humming-birds, here called *beja flores* (kiss-flowers), as they glance among the orange blossoms, in search of "liquid sweets," add to the general harmony. Swarms of insects, also, fill the air and surface of the earth. As night approaches, myriads of fire-flies take the place of those which sport only in the genial rays of the sun, and their vivid emissions of light, whilst darting amid the foliage, produce an effect which, in more ignorant times, might easily have been attributed to supernatural causes. The monotonous hum of the tree-frog is then heard, continuing without inter-

mission during the night, while no other sound disturbs the solemn and universal silence.

None but those who are used to tropical climates, can imagine the feelings which such scenes inspire in the breasts of travellers recently arrived from Europe.

After residing a month at Rio and its immediate neighbourhood, I felt desirous of seeing a little of the interior of the country; and accordingly determined to visit the Swiss colony established at Moro Quemado; the ancient mining station at Canta Gallo; and the Ilha da Pedra, a settlement of Indians on the banks of the river Parayba.

The Swiss colony I was most particularly anxious to visit, from its being the first attempt made in this part of South America to introduce foreign European settlers in the capacity of farmers and labourers.

The account I received of it was this: a plan was first contrived and laid before the King, by a Swiss gentleman, and received the approbation of His Majesty, who spared no pains nor expense to carry it into effect. In Switzerland, where the

people are naturally enterprizing, and fond of emigration, the plan was eagerly embraced, and many persons in good circumstances left their homes with the expectation of quickly realizing large fortunes. Some skilful mechanics, and men of all trades, volunteered to join the party; but the majority were taken indiscriminately from the lowest classes of society. The accommodation on ship-board must have been very defective and bad; for, out of 1500 persons, who left their native country, and were embarked in Holland, no fewer than 300 died during the voyage out, and many others soon after their arrival in Brazil. The remainder were immediately sent up the country, and established as a regular colony at Moro Quemado, the place above mentioned, to which I was now about to proceed.

CHAPTER II.

EXCURSION IN THE INTERIOR.

HAVING hired a Swiss servant, who acted as guide, and taken with me a stock of necessary provisions, a gun, &c., I left Praya Grande, in a boat manned by six negroes, on Tuesday, September 23, 1821; and, after a pleasant passage of about three hours, reached the mouth of the Macacou, the largest of the eleven small rivers which discharge their waters into the Bay at its northern extremity, fourteen miles distant, in a straight line, from the town of Rio.

In coming to this place, we passed by Governor's Island, (Ilha du Gouvernador,) by far the largest of the many islands of the Bay. It extends along the Eastern bank, and is about six miles in length, and two and a half broad. On it are two large sugar plantations. The soil is said to be extremely fertile. It was formerly a royal pre-

serve, abundantly stocked with game; but the right of sporting is now thrown open to the public, the exclusive privileges of the Crown having been given up since the proclamation of the late Portuguese Constitution.

The river Macacou, at its mouth, is about the breadth of the Thames at Windsor. The navigation extends to a distance of thirty miles for large market-boats, of which we passed several on their way to Rio, laden with the produce of the interior. This consists chiefly of coffee, sugar, rum, maize, tobacco, and charcoal, and furnishes employment to the inhabitants of three villages, namely, Macacou, Porto das Caxas, and Villa Nova, situate on the banks of the river. The last-named village, where we stopped, is about ten miles distant from the embouchure.

We arrived there at about four o'clock. An Englishman, who keeps a small retail shop, and a wharf, for the accommodation of muleteers and negroes, furnished me with the best lodging his house could offer; but bad was the best, for such heat and filth, and annoyance from the mosquitoes, I had never before experienced. In the

evening my landlord and I walked together through the village to his own dwelling-house, which was more comfortable, and returned at night. He went about armed with a dirk, and pocket-pistols; and he said, that the revengeful feelings entertained by many persons whom he had disobliged in the course of business, rendered every possible precaution necessary. Private assassinations, it seems, are not uncommon, and are seldom punished, unless the friends of the deceased are able and willing to bring the offending party to justice, for Government alone does not prosecute such offences. At this place I hired two mules, at the rate of three patacas or 4*s.* 6*d.* a-day each, and started on my journey the following morning.

September 4.—We travelled slowly, and reached Porto das Caxas, a village six miles distant, before three o'clock. Here the embarkation of country produce for the capital is conducted upon a far more extended scale. We observed numbers of mules, with their attendant muleteers, passing and repassing continually, many parties of them travelling together for the sake of mutual protection. Each mule carried two paniers, made of cow-

hides, and fastened over the back upon a kind of saddle made of the same materials. The subordinate drivers are commonly negroes, or Brazilian creoles of the lowest class; but the master muleteers are persons of some consequence, particularly in their own estimation, which they show by riding together, in a separate group, at a suitable distance from the cavalcade. They are often part-owners, and very rich, trading on their own account, or conveying large sums of money entrusted to their charge.

The prevailing costume of these people deserves a separate description. They wear broad-brimmed black hats, with low crowns, and tied by a riband under the chin; velveteen jackets and waistcoats, of different colours—blue, purple or red, and metal buttons; cloth and linen trowsers, and high black gaiters, buttoning above the knee: a blue cloth cloak or mantle, similar to those used in Portugal, and sometimes lined with red, is thrown negligently yet gracefully over the shoulders, and renders the *tout-ensemble* really picturesque. Let a figure, thus equipped, be supposed mounted on a mule, with a high-peaked Portuguese saddle,

and stirrups, and a formidable brace of horse-pistols and holsters. Let a long pointed knife also be supposed half concealed about some part of the person or saddle, (for without such a weapon always at hand no man would feel easy or secure), and the picture of a Brazilian master muleteer will then be complete.

When I afterwards happened on the road, and at inns, to mix familiarly with these people, the vast importance which they arrogated to themselves was quite ridiculous; though it must be confessed, that a traveller has to put up with many mortifications from their repulsive manners, and the conscious air of superiority with which they treat his attempts to enter into conversation with them for the purpose of gaining useful information. They appear very suspicious of strangers, and always answer questions by questions in return. Being themselves deceitful, they suppose others to be equally so, and would never believe that I travelled from motives of mere curiosity. Professions to that effect, when made, were laughed at by them; and they often inquired what sort of merchandize I came to sell. I soon

discovered that it was imprudent to intrude upon large bodies of these people, for fear of positive insult; but with one or two I felt less awkward, and the offer of a dram had a wonderful effect in managing their churlish and incommunicative dispositions. To sum up their character in a few words,—I should say that they are close, cunning, and revengeful, covetous of money, and passionately addicted to gambling; but honest to their employers, tenacious of their word, sober, strong-headed, and active in mind and body.

The village of Porto das Caxas itself offers nothing remarkable. It consists almost entirely of *vendas*, or small taverns, for the accommodation of muleteers; together with a few shops, containing such articles of foreign manufacture as the muleteers might be tempted to purchase on their return home. British cotton goods and hardware, cloths and hats, appeared to constitute the bulk of their stock in trade.

The country around is flat, and partially interspersed with plantations of sugar, mandioca, and maize. In the evening, about six o'clock, we reached a place called Ponte da Rosa, distant

one league and a half, or six miles, from Porto das Caxas. No better accommodation could be procured than was afforded by a small mud hut, kept by a negro for the use of muleteers travelling that road. No bribes, nor remonstrances, nor soft speeches, could induce the mistress of a neighbouring *venda*, or shop, to open it in the absence of her husband:—she reconnoitred us from the window, without even exposing her face; and, except through the interference of our negro host, we should have been unable to procure the few necessaries we wanted. This apparent inhospitality is merely the effect of the extreme jealousy which is every where prevalent among the Brazilian creoles.—Having found pasturage for our mules, we managed to sleep upon benches extended on two stools in the negro hut, with that comfort which nothing but fatigue could have rendered tolerable.

September 5.—This morning, soon after daybreak, we again started on our journey, Fahrenheit's thermometer being at 70°. We immediately entered a fine open plain, bounded by the Organ Mountains, and pursued our journey to a

small village, prettily situate on the banks of the river Macacou, where we stopped to breakfast; and about noon came to the Fazenda do Collegio, a large sugar plantation. A spacious edifice, with projecting wings, formed one side of a quadrangle, comprising the dwelling-house of the proprietor, the chapel, the apartments of the negroes, and the *engenho* or boiling-house, with suitable store-rooms. The number of slaves employed here was stated at 100. We saw several rudely constructed carts, drawn by oxen, the wheels and axle-trees of which turned round together with a very discordant noise. Upon inquiring why this clumsy mode of construction was not improved, I was gravely assured that the noise was necessary to stimulate the labour of the animals, and that without it they would not work.

As we travelled onwards, magnificent plains opened upon the view in constant succession, surrounded by vast amphitheatres of evergreen woods. At two o'clock we arrived at Santa Anna, having travelled a distance of four leagues, or sixteen miles.

Santa Anna is a cheerful straggling village, containing some hundreds of inhabitants, and is considered the chief place of this part of the country: yet we found no decent inn for the accommodation of travellers, and but one house that had two stories. The master of this house, a good-natured old man, immediately requested that I would be his guest, in case it suited me to remain a night; but wishing to make a longer day's journey, I declined his kind offer. We here lost three hours in shoeing the mules: and, having proceeded another league on the journey, the approach of night forced us to stop at a small *venda* on the road-side. Here, for the first and almost last time, the females of the family made their appearance, and ventured to enter into a little conversation. I could not, however, make them comprehend my motives for travelling in that manner, and they were much disappointed when my paniers discharged a supply of wine and provisions, instead of shawls or other goods for which they might have made a bargain. I laughed heartily at their eagerness to dub me trader; but they laughed as heartily at me in

return, and still believed that I was a Swiss pedlar in disguise, bound upon some secret trading expedition.

The Brazilian *venda*, of which mention has been so often made, corresponds to the petty shops in English villages, for the sale of tea, coffee, tobacco, and snuff. Here common Portuguese wines, and *cachaça*, or rum, together with bananas, (a fruit on which the negroes almost entirely subsist), are added to those articles. No neat parlour nor kitchen, with well-burnished pewter dishes, and other domestic utensils, ever attracts notice; no officious landlady comes out to welcome you, and offer the best her house affords;—here the shop is, on the contrary, both comfortless and filthy, and the worst accommodation is, after a long delay, carelessly and ungraciously afforded: some rude and stupid boy generally stands behind the counter, who deals out the articles required, with habitual slowness and bad humour. They seem, indeed, to consider the mere act of selling you their goods, at any price, as a prodigious favour; and all expostulations, or threats of leaving the house for want of better accommodation, are either listened to

with the most contemptuous indifference, or bring forth the quick retort of "*Pois va!*"—"Well, go then!"

The slow rate of travelling on mules in this country may be judged of by the extent of this day's journey, which was not more than twenty miles.

September 6.—I slept as well as could be expected, on the counter of the shop above described, and started again this morning at half past six o'clock,—the thermometer then being at 67°. We soon reached the Fazenda of Colonel Ferrara, a large sugar and coffee estate. Here we made a rural breakfast, under the shade of a luxuriant grove of orange-trees, on the banks of the river Macacou, which had now dwindled into a small but picturesque mountain-stream. Thence, bidding adieu to the plain, we began to ascend the mountains.

Our route first lay through a thick forest, the singular features of which could not fail to strike a novice in American scenery: no man, no beast, no bird, nor trace of any living animal, was visible for several miles; and nothing disturbed the

profound silence which every where reigned, except the occasional cry of the toucans perched on the topmost boughs of trees, and the hollow sound of the woodpecker, or carpenter-bird, as it is termed in Brazil. The road was in parts so bad, that our mules had extreme difficulty in making their way over it; and the day was already far advanced, when we reached a place consisting of a few miserable cottages, and known by the name of the *First Register*. Here were stationed four soldiers, with a sergeant, who examined and countersigned my passport, and after the performance of that ceremony allowed me to proceed. This precaution is taken at all the principal passes which lead to the mine districts, to prevent the illicit removal of gold or diamonds without authority from Government.

The road, onwards continued through the same thick and dismal forest, by the side of an impetuous torrent, which had been swelled beyond its usual size by recent rains, and which forms one of the principal sources of the river Macacou. Sometimes it became necessary to dismount from the mules, owing to the steep and rugged nature of the

ascent. At length the character of the scenery underwent a change: we broke out from the wood, and found ourselves surrounded by rocky cliffs, interspersed with trees of stunted growth. Upon the brow of a steep declivity, overlooking the narrow defile through which our course now lay, we beheld a low long mud hut, apparently ill adapted to protect its wretched inmates from the inclemencies of the weather. Presently two human beings appeared; and when we had approached still nearer, we heard the rough cry of "*Quem vive?*" once or twice repeated by a sentinel in the usual imperious tone. We gladly made answer "*Amigo,*" "Friend;" and soon discovered that the said mud hut was in fact a guard-house, tenanted by two Portuguese soldiers, whose tattered blue uniforms and squalid features assorted very well with the miserable appearance of the habitation. The interior of the hut was equally bad: a table sufficiently large to accommodate several persons, with mats spread over it to sleep upon, and a wooden chest, were the only articles of furniture; on the walls hung some skins of wild cats and other spoils of the chace, a fowling-piece, four muskets,

and cartridge-boxes. A fire was lighted in the centre of the hut on the ground, (for flooring is here an unknown luxury,) and over it was suspended the carcase of a half-roasted monkey. The soldiers did their best to entertain us, but we passed a comfortless night, and at daybreak the following morning a violent storm completed the terrific wildness of the scene.

September 7.—We were at the *Second Register* in the Serra or pass of the Organ Mountains, whose stupendous form had at a distance often excited admiration, and the height of which is computed at from four to five thousand feet above the level of the sea. At this place we were not far from the summit. On a fine clear day, the view over the rich valleys below, as far as the Bay and harbour of Rio Janeiro, sixty miles distant, is striking and magnificent. The torrents of rain now pouring down obscured every object; but from the door of the hut I could at intervals distinguish two rocky peaks towering on each side of us, as if they were the "native guardians of the pass," and whose bases were covered by dwarf trees and masses of rock. Notwithstanding the

great altitude the climate was mild, and at half past six o'clock A.M. the thermometer stood at 62°. We waited patiently till ten, in hopes that the weather would clear up; but being assured that such storms often lasted for many days, and even weeks together, we determined at once to brave its violence and proceed. Our friendly hosts, the soldiers, refused in a proud manner my proffered remuneration, yet gladly accepted in its stead some gunpowder and shot, which in such a situation was of more service to them.

In descending the mountain, the sagacity and sure-footedness of our mules, as they picked their way along a precipitous road, more nearly resembling the bed of a torrent, were truly astonishing. To them alone we necessarily trusted for guidance and safety, and, with one trifling exception, not the slightest accident occurred. We travelled on with great difficulty for several miles, and during as many hours, while the storm of wind and rain which appeared to follow us added greatly to the labour both of beasts and riders. At length the descent ceased altogether, and with it the storm; so that when we reached

the valley of Môrro Quemado, distant eight miles from the summit of the Serra, the beams of the mid-day sun shone full upon the landscape.

Even here, however, the appearance of the country was wild and desolate, and unlike the usual rich fertility of the valleys of Brazil. The bases alone of the adjacent hills were wooded, the higher regions being for the most part rocky, and destitute of all vegetation. The climate is too cold for sugar, coffee, and the other valuable productions of the Tropics; but this very circumstance recommended it to the Government as a fit place for establishing a Swiss settlement, notwithstanding the barrenness and unfitness of the land in other respects.

It was supposed that land unsuitable for Tropical produce must necessarily be well adapted for that of Europe; and that from the introduction of a body of industrious peasants, accustomed to a cold mountainous country, and practically acquainted with the various branches of European agriculture, the most beneficial results were to be expected. As we approached nearer and nearer to the Swiss village, more extensive signs of intended cultivation

than we had yet seen in any part of our travels became apparent. At a distance, the woods for miles around were burning in all directions, fire being the great agent for clearing land in this country. On the road-side, two or three neat wooden huts, with gardens and fences, all different in appearance and construction from those common in Brazil, instantly carried the imagination back into Europe. A well-built saw-mill, worked by the waters of a mountain-stream, and potatoe-fields adjoining, caught our attention; whilst a troop of fine children, with ruddy complexions and light flaxen hair, who ran out to open the gate at our approach, exhibited in their countenances, dress, manners, and language, still more striking marks of foreign origin.

At half past four o'clock we arrived at Novo Friburgo, (by which name the Swiss settlement in the valley of Môrro Quemado is now distinguished,) distant about seventy English miles from Rio Janeiro. Its appearance was, at first sight pleasing; the houses are neatly built of stone, roofed with tiles, one story high, and are laid out in three large squares, at a little distance

from each other. There are, besides, several rows of houses, half a mile distant from the principal part of the village; and a few detached buildings of a superior elevation and class, belonging to magistrates and other officers of the Crown who hold appointments in this colony. The plain upon which the village stands is not more than three or four miles in extent, and is flanked by hills on every side. Through it runs a small river, that is seen winding its way among the enclosures, at some little distance from the village. Gardens, prettily laid out, are attached to most of the houses, and help to make the scenery very agreeable. Our arrival could not escape notice in so small a place; and we were soon surrounded by a gaping crowd of villagers, who either came to greet my servant, who had once belonged to this settlement, or to satisfy their curiosity concerning his travelling-companion. The appearance of so many neat well-dressed people, with their European complexions and dress, and German pipes, strongly attracted my attention; and the many pleasing associations connected with the Swiss peasantry now gained additional interest,

from the circumstance of their being isolated in these foreign and distant regions of South America. The transition from a country chiefly populated by demi-civilized African slaves, to a community of free white peasants, was also very striking, and no less agreeable to the eye than to the heart and feelings.

As we proceeded through the village, it was evident that the inhabitants bore a very small proportion to the number of the houses. Many of the latter were shut up; grass was growing in the squares; no shops, no houses of entertainment were to be seen,—but an air of silence and solitude reigned throughout, which soon gave us to understand that we were in the midst of a half-deserted village. We at first supposed that the people were at work on their plantations; but, upon inquiry, we found that the melancholy aspect of the place proceeded from the total failure of the King's plan, as far at least as respected the establishment of a distinct Swiss settlement at Môrro Quemado.

A letter of introduction having been given me to one Senhor Assis, a Portuguese settler, I took up my abode in his house, and found him an active

young man, both able and willing to show me every requisite attention. He kept a shop for the sale of hardware, cotton, and other goods, and was likewise owner of a small farm, on which he reared horses and cattle. His house was one story high, and built of stone: it contained four or five apartments scantily furnished, with plastered walls, and no ceiling, being open to the rafters. A bed was prepared for my accommodation, being the first that I had slept in since my departure from Rio, and the evening passed away very agreeably in conversation with Senhor Assis, who gave me much interesting information respecting the Swiss colony, its past and present state, and prospects for the future. He spoke of the people in a kind and impartial manner, yet seemed to attribute the ill success of the establishment to the bad conduct of the settlers more than to any other cause. Out of twelve hundred only about three hundred now remained, the rest having either gone to Rio, or settled in distant parts of the country: and of those who remained many families were preparing to depart; so that the place seemed likely to be soon entirely abandoned.

September 9.—This day the thermometer at 7 A. M. stood at 58°, at noon 61°, and at 7 P. M. 52°. Being Sunday, mass was performed in the Government House, situated on an eminence about a mile from the village. A Swiss minister officiated, and the congregation, though small, made a very respectable appearance. Some few Brazilian farmers, who reside in the neighbourhood, were present; and among them was Senhor Assis, decorated with the insignia of the Orden do Christo, worn over a smart sky-blue coat of British manufacture. After Divine service he mounted me on an excellent horse, and escorted me round the environs; visiting several cottages, and cultivated enclosures. One of them exhibited a strong proof of the beneficial effects of care and good management: every thing was on a small scale, but arranged with the most exact nicety and order. The stable, the piggory, the cow-house, and the dairy, all detached, and kept in the cleanliest manner. The garden, from two to three acres in extent, planted with potatoes, beans, cabbages, tobacco, and other vegetables; and flower-beds so tastefully laid out, that they carried an English-

man's thoughts naturally back to his own country. A fine piece of meadow-land, bounded by the river, which was here between twenty and thirty yards wide, gave pasturage to two cows and a mule; and the cottage itself, white-washed and neatly furnished, had an appearance of genuine comfort that could probably be no where else discovered in Brazil. This my Portuguese friend readily acknowledged; but seemed to think the example too rare among the Swiss themselves, to make any general imitation of it likely to take place among the natives.

The good people of the house declared themselves to be happy and contented. The ground originally allotted to them had proved fertile, their stock throve, and the produce of their little farm afforded a comfortable maintenance. They eagerly offered me some of their excellent fresh butter and cheese, which in this part of the world is indeed an unusual luxury; and I went away, no less gratified by their simple hospitable manners, than by the cheerful aspect of the whole scene.

We next visited an Italian chasseur, who was

also one of the original settlers, but preferred living by the produce of his gun to any regular system of industry. He undertook to supply me with any number of stuffed birds, at the rate of eighteen-pence each, and to escort me on a shooting expedition the following day. We passed the site of an intended hospital, the building of which had been delayed until the dispersion of the colonists rendered it almost unnecessary, and now it will probably be never finished. Our last visit was paid to the judge, or chief magistrate of the place, a quiet elderly Swiss gentleman, who complained bitterly of the litigious and quarrelsome disposition of his countrymen. He examined my passport, and inquired into the motives of my journey. His wife, a bustling talkative lady, overwhelmed me with questions, and recounted the history of all her own disasters, from the day of her ill-omened departure from Switzerland to the period of settlement in this barbarous country. She had been led away, she said, like many others, by exaggerated accounts of the supposed riches of Brazil, and never expected again to be happy until she could return to her native land. In the evening

we had the pleasure of witnessing a village-dance, which was sustained with great spirit by most of the young people of both sexes. They at least appeared to drown every care and disappointment in present cheerfulness and festivity, and exhibited a very delightful contrast to the life of total seclusion from society, to which the Brazilian women are doomed by the jealous and absurd restraints imposed upon them by the other sex. With the exception of this one point, my host showed me every attention that could be desired; but no hints would prevail upon him to introduce me to his sister, a young woman who lived in the same house. Once, indeed, I caught a glimpse of her at the window, and again upon entering rather suddenly into the sitting-room; but she immediately hung down her head and concealed her face from view, without returning my salute, and ran away half-scared, as if it had been a crime to find herself in the same apartment with her brother's guest. For this her brother took the trouble to apologize, by saying that every country had its own usages, and Brazilians, without meaning disrespect to either party individually, thought

it best to keep on the safe side, by not trusting their young female relations in the society of strangers. From this plan no danger could be apprehended—from the other it might; and the spirit of intrigue common among the Portuguese was so notorious, that proportionate caution was necessary to be observed by the guardians of female honour.

September 10.—At 7 A. M. the thermometer was down as low as 41°, and the cold had been very severe during the night. The Italian chasseur took me a long ramble, for five hours, among almost impervious woods; yet no deer nor game of any sort was to be found, and we contented ourselves with shooting some toucans, parrots, woodpeckers, and other birds, for the purpose of stuffing them. As we descended again into the plain, we tracked the course of a small stream, the bed of which is known to contain gold. Some specimens of very fine quality have been collected: but as no regular washings can be established without a license from the Government, and heavy attendant expenses, together with a duty to the Crown of one-fifth, the apparent

degree of richness of the mine does not justify the working it at this place.

From what has been said in the preceding pages of this Narrative, the actual state of the Swiss settlement will be sufficiently evident. A short account is now subjoined of the measures which were pursued by the King's command in furtherance of his views, together with the main operating causes that induced a result so contrary to expectation.

The steps originally taken to procure settlers were mentioned in another place; as were the reasons for choosing Môrro Quemado to be their place of establishment,—namely, its proximity to Rio Janeiro, its mountainous situation, and cold climate. Hither, accordingly, they were transported shortly after their arrival, at the expense and under the direction of the Government: houses were prepared for their reception, one being allotted to each family, with a piece of garden-ground and land proportioned to the number of individuals who would cultivate it. The hills and valleys in the neighbourhood, as well as the whole plain of Môrro Quemado, were thus partitioned out in a regular manner. Paths were

cut through the woods for the accommodation of the settlers; and in one instance a dyke was made at a considerable expense, to convey the waters of a neighbouring rivulet to turn a corn-mill: cattle, mules, sheep, pigs, and poultry, were also given at different times; and every individual above three years of age received during the first year an allowance of half a pataca or ninepence a-day in money.

These settlers were of course subject to the laws of Brazil, but exempted from the payment of any tax or contribution for the first ten years of their residence in the country. Suitable officers were appointed, partly Portuguese, partly Swiss, to superintend the distribution of lands, &c., to administer justice, and enforce whatever regulations might be deemed expedient or necessary. The immediate superintendance of the whole settlement was confided by the King to a dignitary of the Church, and a person of some importance in Rio, commonly called Mon Senhor Miranda.

Thus far every thing, at first sight, appears to have been placed on a good footing, and liberally conducted, in a way suitable to the wants of the

colonists, conducive to their permanent prosperity, and highly honourable to the King their munificent patron.

Several untoward circumstances, however, occurred to frustrate his beneficent intentions; some of which doubtless might have been foreseen, while others could only be brought to light by the actual execution of the project. In the first place, although many of them came under the designation of artisans and regular-bred farmers, the majority were of a very different, description, and had been indiscriminately collected together. Some were notoriously bad characters, and many had been soldiers, bred up in the military school of Bonaparte, whose real profession was that of the sword, not the plough. It could not be expected that the minds and habits of life of these people should be so entirely altered by a voyage across the Atlantic, as to render them at once respectable and industrious settlers. They brought with them, in fact, guns, sabres, and pistols, instead of agricultural implements; and naturally preferred the chace to hard labour, in a district where game was abundant, and the cultivation of the soil attended

with much labour and but little profit. The barrenness of many of the allotments was such as to disgust the proprietors; who, after all the trouble and expense of burning down the wood and cultivating their land, found it impossible to get a remunerating return for their labour. This disappointment in the hopes of those who were really industrious, gave them just grounds of discontent, and their more idle companions made use of it as a pretext for abandoning their farms altogether. For a time, the King's bounty money, aided by the produce of the chase, enabled them to live in tolerable comfort; but, when that resource failed, numbers of them were reduced to extreme indigence and misery.

Thus circumstanced, they gradually left the settlement at Môrro Quemado, in search of a milder climate and more productive lands. Some went higher up the country, and, following the example of the Brazilian farmers, attempted to establish coffee plantations; others found their way to Rio, and gained a livelihood by various trades, or engaged themselves as servants. Many young persons of both sexes, who by the death of parents had been left un-

protected and unprovided for, adopted the latter expedient; and the fate of such girls as had any pretensions to beauty, may, under all the circumstances of the case, be easily imagined. The state of morality, indeed, was unfavourable from the beginning, and the evil seems to have been encouraged rather than checked by persons in authority. Thus it happened that this ill-fated settlement, which ought to have presented a scene of virtuous industry and enterprise, soon became converted into an abode of idleness and profligacy.

Through some strange oversight, not usual among the Portuguese, very little attention was paid to the religious part of the establishment. Mass, indeed, was said on Sundays and grand fête-days at the Government House, but no regular church was erected, and no means for the stated performance of Church ceremonies provided. The Roman Catholic religion, when thus stripped of its imposing ceremonial, together with all those parts which by appealing to the senses are said to assist devotion, must consequently be expected to lose a large proportion of its ordinary influence. Such actually proved to be the case: and in few parts of the Portuguese dominions were

the public ordinances, and private injunctions of religion, less considered or observed. Orders had originally been given by the King to admit none but Catholics into the settlement, and no religion but the Roman Catholic was afterwards allowed. A great number of Protestants, however, contrived to introduce themselves into it, notwithstanding those orders; yet, being too honest to make a formal profession of what they disbelieved, and at the same time unable to worship God in their own way, they necessarily lived without the ordinances of religion altogether. Their children even were not baptized, except by themselves, and grew up in deplorable ignorance of their faith; whilst such persons as refused to receive the extreme unction of a Roman Catholic priest, died, as they had lived, without the benefit of religious assistance.

Another great omission was that of the establishment of schools by the Government. The German Swiss did, indeed, keep up a school at their own expense; but the French Swiss children were absolutely unprovided with any place of education.

The last cause of ruin to the already tottering settlement, was the departure of the King for Portugal. Being entirely a child of his own creation, it shared the usual fate of favourites during the absence of their patron, and was either forgotten or purposely neglected by the young Regent, Don Pedro, and his Government. Mon Senhor Miranda removed to Rio; and, as some of the poor people themselves observed, "seemed no longer to take any interest in their welfare and happiness." The chief part, therefore, dispersed themselves throughout the country in all directions—some singly, some collectively, according as their interests and inclinations prompted. Others, at the time of my arrival, were preparing to follow their example; and a few sober-minded industrious people only remained, intent upon the accomplishment of the plan originally laid down, namely, that of the cultivation of European productions, particularly of potatoes and maize, for which there is a constant and great demand at Rio. The prospects of those who remain, and are fortunate enough to possess

an allotment of good land, may be considered as sufficiently encouraging. In support of this opinion, my host told me of a Portuguese farmer in the neighbourhood, who in one year had realised, by the sale of potatoes alone, no less than two contos of reis, or upwards of £560.

From the whole account here given, the reader may draw his own inferences, and judge whether, if more ably managed, more advantageously situated, and composed of better-conditioned settlers, the colony could ever have been permanently and successfully established. Be this as it may, it is earnestly to be hoped, that whatever changes may take place in the Government of Brazil, the people of England will not allow themselves to be tempted, by delusive promises and expectations, to abandon their own comfortable homes in search of advantages, uncertain at best, amidst the woods and wildernesses of South America. This remark does not apply solely to the sort of establishment here described; there are projectors and speculating egotists in various ways,—and woe to those who, in ignorance of the real state of things, give

credit to the pictures too often drawn in this speculative age, of an imaginary *El Dorado*, and find not out how egregiously they have been duped until their error becomes fatal and irretrievable! The much-vaunted precious stones and metals they will find equally difficult of attainment, if not more so, than in England; and, supposing their labours as farmers to be ultimately successful, years of toil, danger, and discomfort, must first be surmounted. Innumerable crosses, which the inexperienced cannot anticipate, but which are inseparable from a new country, will thwart them at every step; and not among the least of these may be mentioned the hostility of a rude native creole population, jealous of foreigners, and bigotted enemies to innovation and improvement.

CHAPTER III.

EXCURSION IN THE INTERIOR, CONTINUED.

CANTA' GALLO.

AT eight o'clock, on the evening of the 10th September, we bade adieu to our kind host, and proceeded on our journey to Cantà Gallo by moonlight. Our route lay through a series of thickly-wooded ravines, and on one occasion we were seriously incommoded by the conflagration of the woods. The effect produced by the blaze of light among the adjacent hills was very fine, and heightened by the noise and crackling of the dry timber, which sounded far and near like successive volleys of musketry reverberated by a thousand echoes. At the end of five hours, having travelled sixteen miles, we arrived at a small log hut, by the roadside: we knocked at the door, and requested admittance—not without fear of refusal at such an unseasonable hour; but luckily the owner was

a Swiss settler, and he and his wife immediately bestirred themselves to give us the necessary accommodation. A fire was soon lighted, and a dish of coffee warmed up; while a mattress, spread upon the ground, afforded a more comfortable bed than could be met with in any Portuguese *venda*. Here we rested three hours, and then pursued our journey at four o'clock on the morning of the 11th.

This Swiss peasant told me that he had left Môrro Quemado in consequence of the sterility of the land allotted to him. He said he had better expectations of success on his present estate. The woods, for a space of several acres, were already burnt down and cleared. His plan was to make it a coffee-plantation, for which the soil and climate were well adapted: but many months, he said, must elapse before the trees could be planted; which might even then fail through mismanagement. Under the most favourable circumstances, they would yield no return in less than three years, and in the mean time he had to provide maintenance for himself and a large family. He said they could subsist, according to their present

mode of life, upon game, which was very abundant, and vegetables of easy growth, such as Indian corn, and mandioc. For the rest he trusted to Providence: and having been foolish enough, in the first instance, to quit his own country, he had only to make the best of his actual position without repining. I admired the philosophy of the man, or rather his happy unconcern at the vicissitudes of life.

Daylight found us still slowly traversing a country of hills, valleys, and wooded fastnesses, the dull monotony of which was not relieved by any open views. We breakfasted and baited the mules at a *venda* six miles distant from the Swiss cottage, and continued our course. Parrots, doves, toucans, woodpeckers, and other birds, now often came within gun-shot, and furnished a little amusement as we travelled along. The monkeys made an incessant chattering sort of noise in the woods, but kept at too great a distance to be seen.

As we approached the neighbourhood of Canta Gallo, we discovered, with delight, a succession of fine coffee-plantations, which covered the sides of all the hills, and completely altered

the aspect of the country. To the principal proprietor, Senhor Joachim das Lavrinhas, a name derived from his father's profession, and signifying Joseph of the Gold Washings, I had procured a letter of introduction. Knowing him to be the wealthiest person in the district, I expected to find the most comfortable accommodations under his roof, and probably a welcome besides, if that were possible from a Brazilian planter. Nothing, however, about the place gave any indication of its master's opulence. The house, like most others of the same class which I had seen, presented a comfortless and mean appearance. The walls were built of stone rudely cemented together, and showed that they had once been whitewashed. A red-tiled roof, with sides slanting upwards in form of a pyramid, projected over a wooden ballustrade which made part of the upper story. Two or three latticed holes, at this time closed by shutters, served for windows,—glass in this retired district and warm climate being a luxury neither known nor required by the inhabitants. In one corner, a small image of the Virgin, or some other tutelary saint, with bell attached, showed

that a private chapel formed part of the establishment: and it may here be mentioned, to the praise of Brazilian creoles, that some such place appropriated to Divine worship, or indicative of respect for religion, is generally to be met with in all large farmhouses.

Senhor Joachim's abode appeared to be deserted; and no notice having been taken of our arrival, we ventured to ring the bell, when a negro came up with looks of astonishment, and asked our business in a rude impertinent manner. He then made us understand, that his master was absent on a journey; but where he was gone to, or for how long a time he might be absent, he could not say; nor would he direct us to any other person belonging to the place who was better able to answer our inquiries. Whenever I attempted to approach the house to ring again, he resolutely opposed it; and I was about to retire in despair, not knowing how to account for such strange conduct, when the appearance of a female form through one of the half-closed lattices gave a ready solution to the mystery. Being again interrogated, he said, that the sister of his master inhabited the house, but

must not be seen by any stranger, and I should therefore do well to go away. There now seemed to be a possibility of gaining the desired information, and accordingly pulling out my letter, I told him to deliver it to his young mistress, with a request to know when Senhor Joachim was expected to return. This message, however, redoubled his alarms, and he positively declined conveying any letters between the Senhora and a young stranger, until half angry, half diverted at the fellow's blundering honesty, and earnest manner of repeating, in his negro accent, "*Déos me livre!*" "God deliver me from doing any such thing!" I bethought me of putting some money into his hand. Against such a temptation the poor fellow was not proof, and he immediately went in, promising to see what he could do. I did not attempt to follow up the opportunity thus offered of obtaining an interview with the Senhora, although, after what had passed, some degree of curiosity might have been allowable; but a stranger in such a country must, on the ground of prudence, if not of delicacy, abstain from every intrusion, however innocent, which can be misconstrued, or tend to

awaken the most distant suspicion, where females are concerned. Keeping this precaution constantly in mind, a man may travel securely through most parts of the interior of Brazil; while, by pursuing a different line of conduct, he subjects himself to the risk of perpetual quarrels, and perhaps assassination.

The negro soon returned with an answer from the Senhora, to say that her brother was not expected home for several days: we had therefore no alternative but to take our departure, which we prepared to do. In the mean time, we examined the place more particularly. The farm-yard was spacious, and strewed with pressed sugar-canes, upon which a number of cattle were feeding. On the South side was a glazed brick pavement, overspread with freshly gathered coffee left to dry in the sun. Behind the house was a small mill, with a *horizontal* wheel (which struck me as a curious peculiarity) turned by a neighbouring stream. On the opposite side of the yard were sundry out-houses, and the negro cottages. Their filthy state was truly disgusting, and was not improved by the pigs and poultry, who seemed to

take undisputed possession in the absence of the wretched owners.

Such is the picture of a Brazilian farm establishment, superior in size and importance to the generality of them in this part of the country, and where the situation itself was so excellent, that nothing seemed wanting, except knowledge and inclination on the part of the proprietor, to render it a comfortable place of residence! The appearance of the plantation was far more agreeable: the coffee-trees were in the best order, and covered the whole country so thickly, that it seemed like one richly cultivated garden.

The difference of climate from that at Môrro Quemado was great, the thermometer at noon being above 80°. About one o'clock, after travelling two miles, we reached the village of Canta Gallo, and put up at a small *venda*, kept by one of the Swiss emigrants, of whom many families had for some time past been established here. They are, however, miserably poor, and complained bitterly of their *mauvaise fortune*.

The distance of this place from Môrro Quemado

is thirty English miles: to travel which distance, allowing for stoppages, we had taken at least twelve hours.

The district of Canta Gallo, in the Capitania of Rio Janeiro, until lately a mining station, lies about 100 miles from Rio Janeiro, in a N.E. direction. It has not been very long in the occupation of legitimate Portuguese settlers. The mines, which attracted the attention of Government, were discovered by some contraband adventurers, who, in defiance of the laws, clandestinely worked and realised large profits from them. Their retreat is said to have been detected by the accidental crowing of a cock—and hence the appellation of Canta Gallo. Contraband adventurers of this description, from all that I could learn, exist no longer in Brazil; yet, as they once constituted a remarkable class of inhabitants, and promoted indirectly, by their enterprises, the improvement of the country, it may not be amiss to relate a few particulars concerning them. They were, for the most part, bold and determined men, induced by the commission

of crimes, or unsettled habits of life, to retire from civilized society: men of such desperate fortunes, that they were glad to run any hazards for the sake of acquiring wealth. Thus united by the bond of mutual interest, they wandered in gangs about the country, through districts yet unexplored by Europeans, in search of the precious metal. The Indians were by turns avoided, conciliated, or subdued, according as it best suited their purposes, until they had none to fear but their own countrymen.

In this manner they traced the courses of rivers, traversed mountains, passed through woods almost impenetrable, and overcame dangers and hardships which men more happily circumstanced would never have thought of encountering. When their toils were rewarded by the discovery of a mine, or of a river-course abounding with gold, all possible precautions were immediately taken to keep it secret until the treasure became exhausted. In that case, or if the secret happened to be discovered by Government, and measures were employed to dispossess these adventurers, such as were fortunate enough to escape apprehension again

pursued the same course of life in another place. Thus individual enterprise and crime became eventually advantageous to the country at large; paths were cut, villages built, mining stations and a thriving population established, in places where nothing but the all-powerful love of gold would, in these days at least, have drawn together any human beings. Hence was the well-known saying of the poet—"Aurum —— perrumpore amat saxa, potentius ictu fulmineo," literally verified in this as in other parts of the New World. Whatever benefits may have subsequently resulted from the progress of civilization during the last three centuries, are chiefly attributable to this prolific source of good as well as evil; and Brazil may be said to owe its existence, as a nation, not to religious zeal, or the love of emigration, or the enlarged views of statesmen, but to its own native treasures, and the insatiable cupidity which they excited in the breasts of adventurers.

The mines of Canta Gallo had no sooner passed into the hands of Government, than a number of colonists bought land, and settled there under its

sanction. A regular official establishment was opened, and the mines worked in the usual way—or, I should rather say, the gold-washings; for, as the metal is merely washed out of embankments, and from the surface of the soil, by means of little streamlets of water turned on for that purpose, the former term can hardly be appropriately used.

Some years ago, the village is represented to have been in a flourishing condition and thickly peopled; the mines, however, having since become less productive and the workings discontinued, the principal part of the people employed upon them have gone elsewhere. The village now consists of about one hundred miserable huts, the greater part of which are shut up and abandoned, with a small brick church, of clumsy construction, in the centre.

Some persons, among whom was the uncle of Senhor Joachim das Lavrinhas, turned their attention to the cultivation of coffee, for which the soil is particularly well adapted; the samples of it, indeed, that are sent from hence, are reputed among the best at the Rio market. Upon the

estate of Lavrinhas, fifty mules, besides negroes and cattle, are employed in the conveyance of coffee to the port; each cargo, or turn, being estimated by my informant, Senhor Assis, at 5000 cruzadoes, or about £560 English money. The Capitão Mor of the district, whose title and office corresponds to that of Chief Magistrate, is also proprietor of a large estate, the hilly parts of which are devoted to the growth of coffee, and the low lands to that of the sugar-cane.

The climate is hot, but salubrious and agreeable, the air being constantly refreshed by breezes from the surrounding hills, and the elevation of the valleys being considerably above the level of the sea. The employment of negroes in every species of husbandry is universal; and hence the small number of white inhabitants, notwithstanding the great extent of land in cultivation. The latter suppose themselves incapable of hard labour in the day-time under a tropical sun; yet the Swiss settlers, who had removed into this neighbourhood, declared themselves perfectly competent to do the work usually

allotted to negroes, and sustain the solar heat, while at work in the field, without too great bodily inconvenience or fatigue. Still these people, whose only alternative is to work or starve, feel, nevertheless, the desire of shifting off labour from themselves upon slaves,—a desire which is engendered by pride, and universally felt by the lower classes of whites in this slave-community. The accomplishment of their wishes, by the purchase of a few negroes, will alone place them on a level with the Brazilian farmers; and they even went so far as to say, that if they could but attain this great object of their ambition, they would cease to regret their unfortunate emigration to Brazil.

The principal vegetable productions of Canta Gallo, besides coffee and sugar, are maize, mandioc, yams, sweet potatoes, beans, tobacco, cotton, indigo, and several kinds of pepper, which are raised for domestic purposes only, and not as articles of traffic. The meal made from maize and the root of the mandioc is in most common use; and that of the latter, when baked in cakes, affords a very palatable substitute for bread. Horn-

ed cattle are scarce, and reserved entirely for labour on the farms; there are no sheep, but pigs and poultry are to be had in abundance—yet neither here, nor in other places, could a fowl be purchased for less than a dollar; goats are unknown, and cow's milk is seldom made use of; butcher's meat is scarcely ever tasted by the inhabitants, except on Sundays, feast-days, and other extraordinary occasions. Deer, of a diminutive size, abound in the woods; large herds of wild pigs, cats, and monkeys, are common, and, like the deer, afford much sport in the chace: ounces are the only beasts of prey; and although ready to carry away any tame animals which may fall into their power, they have never been known to attack a man.

September 12.—Finding nothing sufficiently interesting and agreeable at Canta Gallo to warrant farther delay, we resumed our journey towards Aldea da Pedra this morning at daybreak. My servant pleaded fatigue and ignorance of the road, and prevailed upon me to accept another Swiss in his stead, whilst he awaited my return

at Canta Gallo, and employed the interval in preserving birds and insects to add to my collection.

We passed along the banks of a small stream, out of which large quantities of gold had once been extracted, and up a fertile valley, partly in wood and partly in coffee-plantations. We then went through a magnificent virgin forest, so called in the language of the country, because it had never yet been touched by the axe, whose recesses were equally impenetrable to the sun and breeze.

At the end of five hours, having travelled twelve miles, we came to a small opening among the trees; and here, in a truly sequestered dell, lay the little village of St. Erita, consisting of six cottages and a church. Here, also, were formerly some gold-washings, as was evident from the numerous excavations; but since the abandonment of those at Canta Gallo, these too have been abandoned, without the substitution of coffee-plantations. A few patches of land were here and there seen, which yielded tobacco, maize, and sweet potatoes, for the use of the inhabitants, yet so

overgrown with weeds and brushwood, and apparently neglected, that it still seemed doubtful whether any inhabitants were really on the spot to cultivate them. My servant led the way to a cottage which belonged to a Swiss family, and there we determined to repose and take some refreshment. The owner, a widow, with five small children, readily gave us the best her scanty means enabled her to offer,—namely, coffee, eggs, and mandioc cakes. She seemed a very decent person, and related a long piteous tale, similar to those which others had told before, concerning her unfortunate adventures in Brazil. Her husband, a master stone-mason, had been tempted to leave a lucrative business in his own country, (much against her better judgment, of course,) under the chimerical expectation of realising a large and speedy fortune by emigration. He died, however, soon after his arrival, leaving this widow and her family in extreme indigence, unable to derive any advantage from a property in land which they could neither sell nor cultivate. She had wandered from Môrro Quemado in search of a soil and climate better

calculated to afford the means of subsistence easily, and intended to live here upon the produce of her garden, until her boys grew up to an age to admit of their working on a plantation.

What a wretched fate for the wife and children of a respectable Swiss artisan, to be thus left to linger out a wretched existence, and grow up without society or education, in a manner fit only for savage Indians, amidst the wildernesses of a Brazilian forest!

The report of miseries endured by unfortunate emigrants may not much interest a general reader; yet, when they happen to fall under a traveller's actual observation, the impression which they create is too powerful to pass unnoticed in his Journal. The feeblest attempt to give publicity to such details may at the same time become useful, if it be only a warning to others, and tend to expose the certain dangers, and uncertain benefits, attendant upon emigration to South America.

Proceeding on our journey from St. Erita, we passed through the same virgin forest, whose solitude was still uncheered by any signs of inhabit-

ant or traveller, until we arrived at the summit of a hill. Hence the eye roved at large over a magnificent expanse of country. The absence of all cultivation, and the sombre foliage of endless woods, gave it, however, no claims to picturesque beauty; and the ground itself, whenever visible, appeared, like the foliage of the trees, sun-burnt and barren. On one side the distant Organ Mountains, which we had lately traversed, formed a dark and formidable barrier; and on the other, a lower chain of wood-girt hills sloped gradually down towards the ocean, and bounded the horizon. Along their base ran the river Parayba, between twenty and thirty miles distant, upon whose banks was situated the Indian settlement of *Aldea da Pedra.*

At the bottom of the hill we found a small farm producing coffee, maize, mandioc, and tobacco. The proprietor was not at home, and none of his slaves were to be seen, and the place generally had a miserably deserted appearance. Two miles farther on we came to another farm, where, as the day had already begun to close in, and there was no *venda* in the neighbourhood, it became necessary to

seek entertainment and shelter. For a long time our approach was unheeded and our calls unanswered: at length a negro came out, and conducted us to an outhouse, where the proprietor was employed with his son in washing the carcase of a recently killed hog. Our unexpected presence did not for an instant suspend their labours; and never was hospitality courted with greater unwillingness, or accorded with a worse grace. An uncourteous nod of assent, and the expression *Esta bom!* "Very well!" abruptly repeated once or twice, as if in anger, was the only answer returned; and, to our inquiries after corn for the mules, they replied in the same rude manner, *Tem paciencia!*—"Have patience!" without giving any orders for it. The negroes followed the example of their master, and added insolence to rudeness; nor did we obtain what we wanted until we had really exercised our patience for more than two hours.

The interval was employed more agreeably, in taking a survey of the farm and its vicinity, while sufficient daylight remained.

The situation was excellent, in the centre of a small valley, irrigated by an abundant stream of water. Banana-trees and plantains were very plentiful, and a beautiful grove of orange-trees, now in full bearing, with boughs bending under the weight of fruit, cheerfully diversified the aspect of the surrounding vegetation. Coffee and sugar were the produce of the estate; and ten negroes, with a few cattle and mules, were employed, under the direction of the old man and his son, in cultivating it. They seemed one and all a bad set of people,—disorderly, and ill-conditioned; and their conduct, in any other country, would have afforded just grounds for alarm; but it was here evidently occasioned by the contemptuous aversion in which the Swiss settlers are held, and the mistake they made, in supposing me, as well as my servant, to be a Swiss.

With comparatively abundant means, this man and his family lived in a style of unnecessary dirtiness and discomfort. The house, built of earth, with tiled roof, contained three small ground apartments unfloored, and a store-room adjoining, of larger

dimensions, filled with coffee and other produce. One of the apartments served as a kitchen, another as a bed-room, and in the third supper was served. It consisted of the pork just killed, and *pão da farinha*, or dried meal, into which the fingers of the whole party were alternately dipped! there being no forks nor spoons, and but one knife for the use of the table. The only beverage was pure water; and, judging from what passed here and elsewhere, it may be observed that the habits of Brazilian farmers, however coarse, have at least the virtue of temperance to recommend them. The custom of eating with the fingers, although disgusting, did not at the moment excite much remark, as I had already witnessed it, not only in rustic life, but among the respectable *bourgeois* inhabitants of Rio Janeiro. The last particular to be noticed is, that the pigs were domesticated with us, and permitted to repose themselves under the very table where we sat at our meal.

The supper was cooked by the young man's wife, whose person and dress corresponded in point of

cleanliness with the rest of the household: she did not, however, make her appearance at table. Many questions were asked concerning the object of my journey to this unfrequented part of the country; yet all my assurances that I travelled for amusement, and to gratify curiosity, were at once discredited, or listened to with an incredulous smile. To my inquiries concerning the price of land and produce, or other points with which they were likely to be acquainted, I received evasive answers; and they seemed afraid of giving any information, lest it might afterwards be made use of to their prejudice.

A mattress was assigned for me to sleep upon, in the same apartment with the young man and his wife; yet, notwithstanding the fatigues of the day, the heat and filth, and incessant attacks of the mosquitoes, rendered sleep almost impossible. In the morning, I was eager to quit these comfortless quarters, but had to pay dearly for them, since my host not only took the money offered him, which is unusual in these cases, but allowed his negroes, who had stolen a silken umbrella, and my

powder and shot, which were not to be replaced, to escape without reprehension.

As we proceeded towards our place of destination, the road became again rugged and mountainous, and lay through a thickly-wooded country, no where brought into cultivation, and aptly called *The Desart.* At three o'clock in the afternoon, having accomplished twelve miles in six hours of incessant travelling, we reached a small open plain, in the midst of a cedar-forest, where the farm and house of one Fabricio was situated. Half a dozen negroes were the only inhabitants, the proprietor being absent. Here was a small water-mill for grinding maize, which was the chief produce of the farm. Horses, asses, and mules, with a few horned cattle, are reared for sale, the plain affording good pasturage. Leaving this place, we again entered the forest, and proceeded on without seeing any fresh object of interest, until the river Parayba, about a quarter of a mile in breadth, burst suddenly upon the view. A few scattered Indian huts were next visible; and the recent felling of trees in many places, proved that we could not be far distant

from some settlement. The approach of night now obscured every object, and we were not a little startled by the loud shouts of some Indian natives, who crossed us on the road before we could perceive them, and thus either expressed their surprise, or gave us a rude salutation *en passant*.

CHAPTER IV.

Arrival at Aldea da Pedra.—Roman Catholic Missionary.—Indian Aborigines of the tribe of Puris.—River Parayba.

We made the best of our way to the abode of *Father Thomas*, a Capuchin friar, and missionary of the society *De Propagandâ Fide*. His kindness and hospitality were a theme on which my servant, who, in common with others of his countrymen, had been hospitably treated by him, was fond of expatiating. Hence his name and character were already familiar to me; and, upon my arrival at *Aldea da Pedra*, I found a number of Swiss families lodged under his roof, who received and welcomed us in a very cordial manner. I began now to feel once again restored to civilized society. A comfortable bedroom was

appropriated to me by these good people; and having adjusted a few necessary preliminaries, I made my inquiries after Father Thomas.

The tolling of a bell at this moment announced the hour of evening prayer, and he had gone to his devotions. The chapel-door stood open, and I ventured to look in. What a sight then met my eye, and fixed me to the spot! Before the image of a crucified Saviour, suspended above the altar, and dimly illumined by the gleams of a single lamp, the venerable Father was seen bending forward in humble adoration, with hands devoutly clasped together, and kneeling in silent and secret prayer. His silvery locks bespoke his advanced age, and a long white beard gave an inexpressibly fine effect to a countenance naturally benign, but furrowed over with the deep lines of habitual meditation. A rosary was suspended on his breast; and a coarse brown garment of cloth falling loose round the body, and sandals on his feet, marked him as belonging to a rigid order of Friars. The chapel was small yet neat, and appropriately furnished, according to the usage of Roman Catholics, with images and pictures of Saints. That of Our

Saviour over the altar was rudely carved in wood, and still more rudely painted; but if the contemplation of it were intended to convey feelings of horror and pity to the mind of the worshipper, that object was completely attained.

Such scenes as this may indeed occur every day unremarked, in Catholic countries; but the effect they produce depends much upon time, place, and circumstance.—Here all conspired to awaken interest. The hour of solitude and darkness; the place—one of the most sequestered valleys of Brazil, among a tribe of Indians, whose loud and peculiar shouts alone broke the general silence; lastly, the character and person of the man—an Italian missionary, who had left his native land, to convert and civilize these poor Indians—a missionary, whose sanctity had gained him the respect and whose beneficence had conciliated the affections of all around, who now lay prostrate in deep devotion before his Saviour and his God.

The evening passed away pleasantly in conversation with the good Father, who spoke a mixture of the Portuguese, Italian, and French lan-

guages, of which latter he had gained a slight knowledge from his Swiss inmates. He was delighted to meet a foreign traveller; having lived unvisited and unknown, except by the native Brazilians, the Indians, and Swiss settlers, for a space of twelve years. Thirty years had passed over his head since he left Italy. The recollection of his native land was still delightful to him, and he cherished a lingering hope that he might still lay his bones there; although determined not to desert his post, unless a fit successor were appointed. He was the first European who had ventured to approach the Indian settlements on this part of the river Parayba. He had cut his way through the woods, with no inconsiderable difficulty, from St. Erita, attended only by two negroes. The natives, alarmed at this intrusion upon their domain, and taught by bitter experience to dread the usurpations of Europeans, were at first inclined to dispute his passage: they menaced him with their bows and arrows, and were proceeding to destroy the whole party, when the mild demeanour of Father Thomas, and the symbols of peace which he carried in his

hands, won pity and attention. They entered into an amicable conference, and finally allowed him to settle among them; giving him land, and assisting him to construct a dwelling-house and chapel. His gentle manners, attractive virtues, and superior knowledge, soon gained their affectionate respect; and the entire confidence which from the beginning he had placed in them, served, as he himself said, most effectually to win their hearts. At last his influence became so great, that they allowed him to introduce a few Brazilian creole families among them, and abandoned in some measure their former savage habits, in imitation of the new-comers. The acquisition of European goods gave a stimulus to industry; and the use of money, as it became understood and appreciated, assisted the progress of civilization. With regard to religion, they had never doubted the existence of a God, and never acknowledged any system of idolatrous worship. The profession of Christianity was therefore readily adopted, as far as submission to the rite of baptism, attendance at mass, and the outward observance of some other ceremonies; but whether any of them were real

converts in heart, and on conviction, is a point much more doubtful, and indeed not to be easily believed. The vice of drunkenness, and immoderate love of spirituous liquors, followed the march of trade in this as in all other parts of America, in spite of the influence of the Missionary and his religion.

Perhaps the system pursued by Protestant Missionaries, of teaching letters, and awakening as far as is possible the dormant faculties of the mind, might have proved more useful than the oral inculcation of religious knowledge, aided by that appeal to the senses which image-worship and the Catholic ceremonial make. Under the most favourable circumstances, however, it is well known that the Aborigines of America have baffled the most zealous and well-meant endeavours to convert them; and the rapid decrease of their numbers, wherever Europeans have established themselves, afford strong ground of belief of the total extinction in due time of the whole Indian race.

September 14.—The break of day disclosed to view a country so beautiful and susceptible of advantageous cultivation, that I felt surprised

the Indians had so long been left undisputed masters of it by the Portuguese.

A noble river, from a quarter to half a mile in breadth, pursued its rapid course at the base of a chain of low and wood-girt hills. In the channel were many islands of various magnitude—some mere rocks, others overgrown by copsewood; and here and there an Indian cabin made its appearance among the trees. From these rocky islets the name of the place, *Aldea da Pedra*, is derived. Several canoes, paddled by natives of both sexes, were seen skimming along the surface of the water, and the use of one of them was readily placed at my disposal. The banks on each side were thickly wooded, except in the immediate vicinity of the village: here a considerable extent of ground had been cleared, and plantations, chiefly of maize, mandioc, beans, and tobacco, made by the Brazilian creole inhabitants for their own use.

Only a few families, belonging to the poorest class of whites, live in this village, and they partake more of the character of Indian hunters than of regular farmers. Their cottages are not many degrees better than those of the

natives; nor have they any domestic animals, except pigs and poultry. The house of Father Thomas is of unusual magnitude, being two stories high, and containing a suite of unfurnished uninhabited apartments: it is built of wood, the chapel forming a part of the same edifice. Indian huts are scattered along the banks of the river, for a distance of about two miles: some have a small enclosure round them, planted with the above-named vegetables; others are unenclosed, and built in the thickest parts of the forest. They are of very simple construction, and thatched with the leaves of the palm-tree. Their height in the centre is seldom sufficient to allow a man to stand upright, and net hammocks suspended lengthways constitute their only furniture.

These Indians belong to the tribe of Puris: their number altogether does not exceed three hundred in this settlement. They speak a little Portuguese, and understand it sufficiently well for common purposes of trade. On Sundays, those who can afford to purchase clothes dress themselves after the manner of the Brazilian creoles, in linen trowsers and jackets; and take great

delight in imitating European fashions. On common occasions they go nearly naked; but the women always wear a coarse frock: upon them devolves the performance of all menial offices, and they are treated in a very brutalm anner. The passion of love, as has been observed of most other Indian tribes, is but feebly felt: no strong ties of affection appear to exist between parent and child; far less between brothers and sisters, or more distant members of one family. Husbands offer their wives, parents their daughters, to any stranger; and for the low price of one dollar, a boy may be purchased and carried away as a slave to distant parts of the country. So powerful, however, are the feelings of liberty and independence which nature has planted in their bosoms, that when thus carried away into towns or civilized communities, they either contrive to escape, or pining after their native wilds, gradually lose all their physical energies. Father Thomas had never known a single instance of an Indian who could endure the restraints of civilized life for any length of time. Their mental faculties are very limited, and they seldom think seriously on any subject beyond the

present moment. Impulse is their guide in all things, whether of pleasure or of business; and they either hunt, or fish, or cultivate their grounds, according to the whim of the moment. They disdain to act by rule; and if determined not to work, no pay nor promises, no threats nor expostulations of any sort, can alter their determination. Hence there is great difficulty in giving them the benefit of any new idea to work upon; but when once they take it up, they persevere with admirable assiduity, and generally with success.

To get money for the purchase of clothes and rum—the only luxuries of which they feel the want, they fell timber, and convey it for sale with much dexterity in rafts down the river to St. Fidele. They also employ themselves with less labour in gathering the ipecacuanha root, which grows abundantly in this neighbourhood: it is sold on the spot, for one pataca and a half or 2*s*. 3*d*. per lb.; the market price at Rio varies from 1200 to 1300 reis, which, at the present low rate of exchange, is from 5*s*. 6*d*. to 6*s*. per lb. They subsist chiefly upon game, in the killing of which with bows and arrows they are very dex-

terous. Their great delight is to wander for days and weeks about the woods, intent only upon the pleasures of the chace.

In temper and disposition they are docile, pacific and ingenuous, strangers to cruelty, and of late years unused to wars, either among themselves or with other more distant tribes. A stranger may safely trust himself alone and unarmed, either in their huts or on hunting expeditions; and in their own rude way they never fail to treat him with friendliness and hospitality.

The countenances, both of males and females are disgustingly plain: they are characterised by copper-coloured complexions, broad flat noses, small eyes, low foreheads, and thin jet black hair, greased and falling strait upon the forehead. There is a sameness of physiognomy throughout; and if their features can be said to be expressive of any point of character, it is only that of brutal stupidity and vacuity of thought. In stature they are low and thick-set. They are habitually uncleanly in their persons; and the faces as well as the bodies of both sexes are tattooed.

Their religious condition has been already de-

scribed as according with most of the outward observances of the Roman Catholic church; but they use no images nor pictures to guide their devotions, if any are ever indeed practised out of the chapel. They still retain a superstitious dread of the evil spirit which "walketh in darkness," having been confirmed in their pristine ideas on the subject by what little they have lately learnt of Christianity. They often make confessions to Father Thomas concerning the time and manner in which this fearful demon has appeared to them, whether in the form of a lizard, dog, or other animal; and believe that the prayers of such an holy man will effectually counteract the baneful influence of their spiritual enemy. Father Thomas is, in fact, the universal oracle on all occasions; listening with patience to every story or complaint, however trivial, and taking such a lively interest in their affairs, that they do nothing without consulting him. I happened to be present when many of them came in to take his opinion on some occasion, and admired the reverential manner in which they bent forward to kiss his hand and receive his benediction; evidently

regarding him as a sanctified and superior being. The Brazilian creoles belonging to the village are equally devoted and respectful, rarely allowing a day to pass by without calling to see him and obtain his blessing. The same may be said of the Swiss inhabitants, who were much indebted to his hospitable kindness, in a place where they would otherwise have been almost destitute of common necessaries. They were sanguine in their expectations of success in this fertile and hitherto uncultivated district. They were busily engaged in clearing the woods and cultivating provision-grounds; intending, when the means of subsistence had thus been secured, to employ themselves chiefly in cutting timber for the town of Campos, which is situate near the embouchure of the river Parayba, about fifty miles below Aldea da Pedra. They had good reason to believe, from the quantity and quality of the timber, which includes many varieties of the jaracanda or rose-wood, and well-known Brazilian dye-wood, that they might in this manner realize considerable profits. In furtherance of the same object, they were about to construct a saw-mill on the banks of the river,

while Father Thomas assisted them with his advice, and warmly encouraged their labours. The excellence of the climate, the vicinity of so large a river, which, although not navigable for vessels or even boats, is sufficient to convey their rafts of timber to a sea-port, and the friendly disposition of the natives, all concur to make the other natural advantages of the situation available to those settlers, and to give encouragement to others of their countrymen to join them.

We left Aldea da Pedra for St. Fidele on the afternoon of the 14th, and had a charming ride for five hours, along a road which presented at every step fresh combinations of beautiful forest and river scenery. We occasionally met parties of Indian hunters returning from the chace, with skins of deer and ounces flung over their shoulders, quivers at their back, and bows and arrows in their hands. The most friendly salutations passed between us, as far at least as could be judged of by gestures and cries; but mutual ignorance of each other's language prevented us from conversing. Towards sunset we reached a farm—the only one that lay in our route that day:

it was called Aboyas, and about ten miles distant from Aldea da Pedra. The proprietor, an intelligent and active young man, invited me to pass the night under his roof, and I gladly took advantage of his kind offer. Prompt orders were issued to take care of the mules; warm water was brought for my feet,—a luxury commonly offered to travellers in Brazil, after the manner of Eastern countries: and, to complete the novel hospitality of such a reception, the proprietor's sister, an affable good-humoured young woman, did the honours of his house at supper. She gave a magnificent description of Campos, the only town which she had ever yet visited, and said that the inhabitants of both sexes mixed much in society, and had balls, church processions, a theatre, and musical parties. She certainly had no great pretensions to accomplishments; but her simplicity and frank manners were very agreeable, and the mere sight of a female face was a treat in this part of the world.

The farm of Aboyas is situate on the banks of the river Parayba, upon a small open plain, which on one side was covered with cane-fields, and on

the other furnished pasturage to the mules and cattle. Every thing about it appeared in the best possible order. The house itself is made of wood, small but well-built, and more neatly kept than is usual in Brazil. Thirty negroes, belonging to the estate, inhabit detached cottages at some little distance, and showed, by their cheerful looks and bodily condition, that they were well taken care of. I saw a number of fine negro children playing in front of the house, and in the midst of them a younger brother of the proprietor, a lad about fourteen years of age, who had been brought up in this manner on the farm, like the negroes, without any sort of education.

The proprietor himself had little knowledge of any thing that did not relate to plantation business, and had never gone beyond Campos, or its immediate neighbourhood. In answer to the inquiry, why he had never indulged the curiosity to visit Rio? he shrugged up his shoulders, and said, that it might possibly be a very fine city, but that his business detained him at home; and that the estate, if left in the hands of the negroes, would be completely mismanaged in his absence.

He took no interest in politics, nor in the question now beginning to be agitated, whether Brazil should or should not throw off her allegiance to the mother-country; and appeared to consider the situation of his property too isolated and remote to be affected in any way by changes in the Government.

It was now the season of crop upon sugar-estates, and the mill and boilers were kept busily at work during the night. The former was constructed with vertical rollers, turned by four horses. No overseer was employed to direct the labours of the negroes, the proprietor superintending every thing in person, and keeping watch for the greatest part of the night in the boiling-house. He took great delight in exhibiting his various store-rooms filled with sugar in its various stages of preparation, and of different qualities. He sent his produce as far as St. Fidele, twelve miles distant, by land-carriage, and then in boats down the river to Campos, to be shipped on board the coasting-smacks, which, with favourable winds and weather, generally arrive at Rio in about four-and-twenty hours.

September 15.—A little after daybreak we

took leave of our kind host, and passed through an unbroken wood for a distance of four miles, when we reached the house of Captain Picardo, a person of reputed wealth and consideration. He owns a sugar-estate, cultivated by forty negroes, and pleasantly situate on an open plain which slopes gradually towards the river. The stream at this place is not more than a quarter of a mile in breadth, but deep and rapid, and free from shoals. The opposite banks are thickly wooded, and uninhabited. The only description of boat I saw was the canoe, like those of the Indians, made of the trunk of a single tree.

We went up to the house, and found Captain Picardo dressed, according to the fashion of the country, in a loose linen jacket and trowsers, and engaged in conversation with a stranger, whose broad-brimmed cotton hat, large cloak of coarse drown cloth, and huge silver spurs, showed him to be a traveller, coming from or returning to some part of the distant mining districts, denominated *Minas Geraes*. No attention was paid to us for a considerable time, until at last it became necessary to ask for what a more hospitable

man would immediately have offered, namely, a little refreshment. I stated that we were foreigners, travelling to see the country; and, as there were no *vendas* on the road, I had taken the liberty of intruding upon him for a breakfast. With an uncourteous look and manner he granted my request, and then turned away. Some coffee, and a scanty supply of coarse bread, was served up at the expiration of an hour, but the servant could obtain no corn for the mules. The repulsive coldness of this reception was, doubtless, in a great measure occasioned by the idea that I was one of the Swiss settlers; and the attendance of my servant naturally encouraged this prepossession in the Brazilians, who, as I have repeatedly observed, entertained the strongest antipathy to them.

We continued our journey through the woods to Rio Negro, a stream about 100 yards broad, which discharges its dark-coloured waters into the Parayba, at no great distance from the ford. Here a negro was stationed with a canoe for the accommodation of travellers. In passing over, we dismounted from our mules, and holding their bridles, swam them behind us, while the

negro paddled us over in his canoe to the opposite bank. Three miles farther on, the road led round a steep hill, and disclosed to view a large extent of open country, which showed every where abundant signs of cultivation. Here the Parayba becomes very broad, and its numerous islands and winding course gave it the appearance of a great inland lake. To the westward, the Organ and Pipe Mountains, to the eastward the Atlantic Ocean, bound the horizon.

We proceeded through successive sugar-plantations to St. Fidele, a village whose deserted and miserable appearance afforded a striking contrast to the natural beauties and cultivation of the neighbourhood. A clumsy and half-finished chapel, (improperly called a Convent, because one Capuchin friar, a missionary of the society *De Propagandâ Fide*, belonged to it,) encompassed by sixty or seventy cottages, mostly uninhabited, constituted this village, where we had great difficulty in procuring an apartment to repose in during the mid-day heat.

As St. Fidele offered no objects worthy of attention, we determined to leave it without

delay. It became necessary, too, for reasons which need not be dwelt on here, to decide upon a new plan of operations. We were, according to the best calculation, about 160 miles from Rio Janeiro, at which place it was desirable to arrive by the 20th instant. No time was, therefore, to be lost; so that instead of going on to Campos, as at first intended, and taking the road by Cape Frio, along the coast, which would have been more circuitous and attended with greater delay and risk, I made up my mind at once to return to Rio by the shortest route.

The country around Campos, and on the road to it, was described as richly cultivated and abounding in sugar-plantations. Two or three Englishmen were mentioned to me by name, who had established themselves on the banks of the river in the same neighbourhood, and introduced machinery of a novel and curious nature. The account given of them, and of their works, was singularly diverting, and tended strongly to show the excessive ignorance which prevails here among the Brazilian farmers.

CHAPTER V.

RETURN TO RIO JANEIRO.

WE immediately began to retrace our steps, and left St. Fidele the same afternoon at four o'clock. The negro stationed at the ford of the Rio Negro had left his post, it being already dark when we arrived there, and we were obliged to swim the mules across. We were disappointed in our endeavours to reach Aboyas, owing to the darkness of the night and intricacy of the road; and after wandering about the woods for more than six hours, we were at length under the disagreeable necessity of returning to seek shelter at the inhospitable house of Captain Picardo, at the unseasonable hour of midnight: with some

difficulty we procured admittance, and in the morning our reception was similar to what it had been the preceding day.

September 16—*Sunday.*—We recommenced our journey after breakfast, and arrived at *Aldea da Pedra* about two o'clock, too late to be present at the performance of mass, which, in such a place and before such a congregation, must have presented a very interesting spectacle. Father Thomas received us in the same friendly manner as before, and expressed great surprise at the mention of Captain Picardo's incivility, attributing it at the same time wholly to the presence of my Swiss servant.

A great number of Indians of both sexes, dressed in the Portuguese costume, were assembled on the green before the chapel in a state of intoxication, and thus showed how slight had been the impression made upon their minds by the religious duties of the day. I wished to witness an exhibition of their skill in archery, and offered to give a prize to be contended for; but drunkenness had taken away all inclination and power of exertion, and although some promised to go home and fetch

their bows and arrows, they finally dispersed without remembering or paying any attention to the offer. They flocked round me, however, begging for money; and one was no sooner satisfied than another came up, each immediately spending the trifle he had received in *cachaça* or rum, the cheapness of which enabled them to indulge in the most absolute and unrestrained drunkenness. It was painful to observe that the women were most free and impudent on this occasion, and no quantity of liquor appeared sufficient to satisfy their depraved appetites.

Disgusted at such a scene, which not even its novelty had made tolerable, I gladly sought refuge in the house of Father Thomas, and partook of his simple meal, consisting, in true hermit fashion, of mandioc, beans, and water,—a diet upon which, he said, he had subsisted for a long course of years. He inquired with a vague interest concerning the great events which had agitated Europe during the last twenty years, and seemed to know that such a person as Napoleon Buonaparte had once existed; but of all historical particulars he was ignorant, and expressed little

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curiosity about the wars and massacres which had desolated the world. The only books in his possession were a Missal and Latin Bible; and the performance of regular devotional exercises, together with the necessary attention paid to his flock, and the cultivation of his little farm, constituted his only employment. There was altogether an air of sanctity about this Roman Catholic missionary, so accordant with his professional vows, and his character was so universally respected, that it became impossible to leave his roof without feeling regret, and devoting a share in the pages of this Journal to him, as well as to the Indian community over which he presided.

September 17.—We left Aldea da Pedra at ten o'clock; and having travelled all day in a heavy rain, arrived about sunset, wet and weary, at the same farm-house where our reception had before been so inhospitable. We now stopped, as may be supposed, with great reluctance, and gladly proceeded on our journey the next day.

September 18.—The cottage of the poor Swiss widow at St. Erita was already prepared for our reception, and having there enjoyed the comfort

of a short repose, we proceeded to Canta Gallo, and arrived at about four o'clock in the afternoon. My servant, who had remained behind at this place, had, I found, decamped with my clothes.

Having ascertained that Senhor Joachim das Lavrinhas had returned home, we made the best of our way to his plantation, and arrived a little before dark. On the road we met a cavalcade of ladies and gentlemen, on their return from a marriage feast at the house of the *Capitano Mor*. The men, dressed in long cloth cloaks, and well mounted on horses and mules richly caparisoned in the Portuguese fashion, made a fine appearance. The ladies rode in the midst of them. Their horse-furniture was in every way similar, with the exception only of pistols and holsters. They all rode astraddle, according to the prevailing custom in the country parts of Brazil. They wore white linen trowsers; and the delicate foot and ancle, in silk stockings and thin satin shoes, did honour to the small silver stirrup in which the point rested. The upper parts of their dress were, a muslin gown, falling of course over the mule's back, as far round their legs as the

position would admit of, and a large cotton shawl closely wrapped about the person. A round black cotton hat of Brazilian manufacture, and thick white veil which completely hid their faces, completed their equipment.

Senhor Joachim das Lavrinhas received me with great kindness, and regretted that his absence had obliged me to shorten my stay at Canta Gallo, the former visit. He was a young man, born and bred in Minas Geraes, which he had only quitted on his accession to his uncle's property. He conversed on the subject of Portuguese and Brazilian politics with great readiness, and in a manner unusually bold. He held very liberal opinions, and inveighed against the system of Government which was recently pursued by the Court of Portugal, both in the mother-country and Brazil, as being not less corrupt and arbitrary, than unenlightened and impolitic. The lately adopted Portuguese Constitution he applauded much, and hoped that its promised adoption at Rio Janeiro might be immediate and permanent, so as to produce beneficial changes in the state of the country at large. To the separation of the colony

and parent state he looked forward as to a probable event, but without wishing for it, unless those articles of the Constitution which related to Brazil should be hereafter altered in a way detrimental to its interests. This conversation appeared just and reasonable; and, however liberal he might be, there was nothing of the democrat or republican about him. A constitutional monarchy, hereditary as heretofore in the house of Braganza, was the form of government most agreeable to his own sentiments; and he said that similar sentiments generally prevailed among his countrymen, at Minas Geraes, and other places he had visited. He seemed a religious good Roman Catholic, without bigotry or blind superstition. In the evening, before supper, all the members of his household, consisting of five or six male and female slaves, met together in the principal apartment, which had a small portable altarpiece attached to the wall, and joined in the performance of Divine Service. There was something quite dignified and patriarchal in the appearance of this man kneeling among his bondsmen, and before the strangers within his gates, and praying, in the name of one

common Saviour, that a common blessing might rest upon all their heads. Two or three other travellers, on their way to Rio from Minas Geraes, were present at this ceremony, and passed the evening with us. They were, however, silent and incommunicative, and cautiously abstained from committing themselves by hazarding any opinions on political subjects. They listened attentively to all that passed between Senhor Lavrinhas and me, but expressed neither approbation nor disapprobation. Their cautious manner evidently implied that doubts and fears were still entertained by them, or that at least they were not yet broken in to the habit of communicating their opinions freely, and allowing political subjects to form a part of common every-day conversation.

Senhor Lavrinhas pressed me to remain some days, offering to render my stay agreeable, by making hunting-parties, and riding round the sugar and coffee plantations in that neighbourhood, which, with great reluctance, I was obliged to decline. The Senhora, his sister, was not of course present, either at the supper-table, or during the performance of Divine Worship.

September 19.—We prepared to leave the farm of Lavrinhas at daybreak. The ringing of a bell had assembled the negroes, to the number of about thirty able men, who were regularly drawn out in a row, and counted by a mulatto overseer. After this necessary duty, they all fell on their knees and repeated their morning prayers, in the hurried and indistinct tone of voice usual among Roman Catholics, crossing themselves at the same time most devoutly. This ceremony lasted for about five or ten minutes, and they then proceeded to their respective labours on the coffee-grounds of the estate.

We travelled almost unceasingly during the day, through the same wooded and hilly country which we had before passed, and did not accomplish more than twenty miles. At a *venda* on the road we met a French settler, formerly one of Napoleon's soldiers, who had been included in the Swiss settlement at Môrro Quemado. Not liking this situation, however, he had bought an estate in the neighbourhood of Canta Gallo, consisting of uncleared woodland, which was well adapted for a coffee-plantation. As yet he had not at-

tempted to bring his estate into cultivation, but amused himself in making a collection of preserved birds and insects, with the intention of selling them advantageously at Rio, where the demand for these things is great, and the price extravagantly high. He drew a deplorable picture of the state of morals, &c. among the Brazilian creole population, and particularized gambling as a vice which he said is carried to a prodigious height among them. One idea of his was very diverting to an Englishman,—namely, that the British Government had bribed Mon Senhor Miranda, the chief superintendant of the Swiss settlement, to mismanage and ruin it, through fear lest any valuable arts and manufactures might thereby be eventually introduced into Brazil, and diminish the now rapidly increasing consumption of British goods.

We passed the night at the Fazenda or farm of Rozario, where the conflagration of the woods at midnight had on a former occasion much impeded our journey. A party of muleteers, on their way to Rio with a load of coffee, arrived about the same time with ourselves, and supped and passed the evening there. They were noisy, and talked

much about play and debts of honour: cards and dice alternately succeeded each other, during the evening; nor did the party separate until a very late hour. Our host joined heart and soul in all the gambling, and was extravagantly elated by success. The others were not so well pleased; and, upon some dispute about the game, high words and angry looks, with corresponding gestures, were given and returned. The play of fierce passions upon the countenances of these men, unrestrained as they were by politeness or principle, was absolutely terrific: and one fellow in particular, putting his hand upon the scabbard of a large knife which he carried about his person, threatened to settle the dispute by an appeal to arms; but happily his violence went no farther.

September 20.—This day, about noon, we reached the Swiss settlement at Môrro Quemado, where I was again hospitably welcomed by my former host. The place bore a still more deserted appearance than at the time of our former visit. Most of the houses were shut up, their owners having emigrated to Rio Janeiro, Canta Gallo, Aldea da Pedra, and other places; and Senhor Assis him-

self began to contemplate removal, his business ceasing to be profitable in the absence of his wonted customers. He said, however, that many who had now gone away, might after a time be forced to return, upon finding their situation changed for the worse instead of better; while the few families who remained there would always give the place some importance, however different from what it had been, and might have still been, under different circumstances.

September 21.—Having procured another servant, I put myself again *en route* this morning, an hour before daybreak, and with infinite toil and difficulty crossed the Serra das Orgãos in a storm of rain and wind. We arrived, wet and hungry, at a *venda* near the farm of Colonel Ferrera, and there spent a comfortless night.

September 22.—We passed through Santa Anna, and stopped for the night, after a long day's journey of twenty-eight miles, at the *venda* of Ponte da Rosa.

September 23.—This day we reached Villa Nova, one of the places on the banks of the river Macacou for the shipment of produce, where our

mules had been hired. We found a guard of soldiers stationed here, who had orders to take away all knives and arms from suspicious persons, on account of the many daring robberies which had been lately committed by a gang of desperadoes in the neighbourhood. Leaving the servant to take the baggage in a passage-boat to Rio, I made the best of my way on horseback, and in the evening of the same day reached Praya Grande, after an absence of three weeks, during which I had travelled upwards of three hundred miles.

CHAPTER VI.

EXCURSION TO SANTA CRUZ.

THE next excursion of any importance I made, was to Santa Cruz, a royal farm and residence on the sea-coast, about fifty miles S. W. of Rio. A broad and good carriage-road leads to it—the only road which extends for any distance in this part of Brazil. I arrived on the afternoon of the second day after leaving the city, and immediately proceeded to see the palace, which is built on an elevated spot, overlooking an extensive plain of pasture land.

The Jesuits, to whom the estate belonged previous to their expulsion from the country, formerly occupied this place, of which only a part of the ancient convent still remains. The new edifice

presents a handsome stone front; and was intended to form a square, but no more than two sides have been completed: it was built two years ago, and is said to have cost a million of cruzadoes.* It contains an extensive suite of rooms, scantily and shabbily furnished. A large garden, among other things, was intended to be made; but since the departure of the King, the works then on hand, and this among the rest, have been discontinued, and every projected improvement given up altogether. Several acres of land are actually laid out in the manner of English pleasure-grounds, with walks and thriving shrubberies. In one enclosure is a large collection of tea-plants, for the due cultivation and management of which, a body of Chinese, to the number of two hundred, had been introduced into Brazil; but these people, like the Swiss settlers, soon dispersed themselves throughout the country, or found employment at Rio, where some as pedlars, and some as shopkeepers, had by their industry and good

* A cruzadoe, 2*s*. 3*d*. English currency.

management realised small fortunes; so that in fact a very few remained, at the time I was at Santa Cruz, to take care of the tea-plants, for which they had purposely been brought into the country with infinite trouble and expense.

In the immediate vicinity of the palace are the huts of the negro slaves belonging to the estate, which are sufficiently numerous to form a little town. Diseased and emaciated crowds of these pitiable objects surrounded me at every step, supplicating for charity, in the name of God and of his Saints. The cause of such excessive misery is partly attributable to those who have the management of the estate; partly to their own idleness and misconduct. They are not supported, as is often the case on Brazilian farms, by the proprietor, but have two days in the week allowed them for labour in their own provision-grounds, for themselves and families. Africans, however, are naturally an indolent and careless race of people; and provided they can escape absolute starvation, which in such a climate is easily done, they require some stronger and more effectual incitement to industry, than mere freedom of will.

They have here no zealous Missionary to impart the powerful stimulus of religious principle to minds too weak and ignorant to think and act rightly for themselves; no active master, nor superintendant, to take an interest in their welfare, and train them up by a well-regulated system of management to useful habits; lastly, they have no encouragement from the neighbourhood of any market, to raise produce for purposes of trade; and not possessing any artificial wants, nor being able, through excessive brutal ignorance, to appreciate the ordinary comforts of life, such as good clothing, good houses, &c., they live and vegetate in voluntary wretchedness, without thought, without exertion, and without hope. Many other diseases of the worst sort, besides the yaws, prevail among them; yet there is no regular hospital establishment, and no precautions are taken to separate the infected from healthy persons. The proportion of old and infirm, among the beggars, was very considerable, and they really appeared to suffer from the most abject indigence; while it was said, that a far larger number had recourse for subsistence,

and indulgence in their only pleasure, namely, drunkenness, to thievery, and other dishonest practices. The number of negroes altogether on the estate is said to exceed a thousand; the most prolific cause of evil among them appears to be the want of sufficient employment.

The estate of Santa Cruz was computed by my informant, an intelligent farmer belonging to the place, to contain nine square leagues of pasture-land belonging to the King, which yielded an annual income of 60,000 cruzadoes; and it might, under an abler system of management, be augmented to 100,000 cruzadoes. This income is principally derived from the horses, mules, and horned cattle that are reared for sale, and amount at the present moment to 2000 head; or from the rent paid for pasturage by the owners of others. Five testoens or 2*s.* 9*d.* per head, is the sum demanded either for one night, or for any longer period of time not exceeding a year. Upon inquiring why a more equalizing plan was not adopted, so as to proportion the rate of pay to the time of pasturage, I learnt that the chief source of profit arose from the herds of cattle on their way from the

interior to the market at Rio, which stopped here to graze for one night only, and were therefore made to pay as much as the more regular annual customers of the farm.

The plain is bounded to the N. W. by the mountain Serra, over which a road leads to St. Paul, a celebrated mining district and city near the port of Santos, to the southward of Rio, and another to St. João del Rey, a large city of the interior, in the western part of Minas Geraes. On the south it is bounded by the sea, into which two small rivers, both navigable for large canoes, and flowing parallel at a distance of six or seven miles from each other, discharge their waters. The air, though hot, is not oppressive, being refreshed by alternate land and sea-breezes. An European may, therefore, take walking or riding exercise during the hottest part of the day without distress: the climate of the evening is delightful. The same remark applies to all other parts of the country which I had yet visited, excepting the cold regions of the Serra. The whole plain affords pasturage for cattle, and is almost entirely bare of trees, or even shrubs. In the middle

of summer it was still verdant, and resembled the rich pasturages of England, very different from what might naturally be expected in this tropical region.

The village of Santa Cruz offers nothing worthy of notice except the King's palace. Since he left Brazil, it has nearly ceased to be inhabited by white people, the Prince, Don Pedro, never bringing company or large household establishments with him when he visits the place. Zapativa, the neighbouring sea-port, three miles distant, contains about sixty fishermen's huts, and is frequented by coasting smacks, which bring whatever supplies are wanted for the palace and adjoining properties, and carry back produce to Rio. There is no harbour: the coast forms a very large bay, where vessels come to anchor close alongshore in shallow water. The country, for a few miles round, at this the eastern extremity of the plain, is well cultivated, and abounds in plantations of sugar and coffee.

At the south-western extremity lies the sugar *engenho* and plantation of Taguahy, about eight miles in a straight line from Santa Cruz. It has

the reputation of being the finest and best managed sugar *engenho* in the province of Rio Janeiro, and as such deserves a particular description. It formerly belonged to the College of Jesuits, and was sold by the Crown at the time of their expulsion from Brazil, for the sum of 250,000 cruzadoes. The annual income now yielded to the proprietor was stated, with other particulars, by the acting superintendant, at between 30 and 40,000 cruzadoes.

One large wooden building, of clumsy construction, is appropriated, as in other similar Brazilian establishments, to the mill, the boiling apparatus, and the distillery; it occupies a space of about 100 yards in length, by 25 in breadth. Parallel to this, and under the same roof, are apartments for the proprietor or his agents, an infirmary for sick negroes, store-rooms, and other domestic offices. There are three mills, placed at equal distances, each with three vertical rollers: through these the canes are passed and re-passed, and the juice extracted by this double pressure flows along wooden troughs into the first boiler. While boiling, a negro is constantly employed in stirring

it up with a large wooden ladle, and skimming off all extraneous frothy matter: it is then passed into another vessel, and left to cool. The same boiling process is afterwards gone through a second time; after which, and when the liquor has arrived at the state of sugar, it is poured into large earthen-ware pans, and is there left for the last stage of preparation. It is afterwards, at the convenient time, exposed to the rays of the sun in large lumps, and broken up and made fit for the market, and then deposited in the store-rooms in boxes of three arrobas* each. The refuse juice, being unfit for sugar, is passed through holes bored for that purpose in the floor, to the distillery, which is conveniently situated in an under-ground apartment, well arched with stone-work, immediately beneath the mill and boiling apparatus.

The mode of distillation is not different, I believe, from that commonly adopted elsewhere. The refuse of the saccharine matter, after undergoing these various processes, is given to the cattle, and

* An arroba, 32½lbs. English.

affords them excellent nourishment. The water necessary for condensing the spirit is supplied by a stream which has been never known to fail in the driest seasons, and serves at the same time to turn the sugar-mill. A large horizontal wheel is made use of for that purpose, against which the water, conducted along a narrow channel, drives with sufficient velocity and force to put the whole machinery in motion.

The season of crop begins in May, and ends in September or October. The largest quantity of sugar made in the best season on this estate, was stated to me at 4000 arrobas. It is reckoned, that, working steadily through the week, they can make about 400 arrobas.

The negro establishment consists of 180 in number. They live in detached mud cottages, near the *engenho*, and appear well taken care of.

The produce is carried in carts, or on mules, to the river-side, where it is shipped on board the coasting smacks, and sent to the Rio market.

The aspect of the country is beautiful, particularly in the immediate neighbourhood of the Serra; and all the varied scenery that hill and

dale, wood and water, cultivated cane-fields and verdant pasture-land, the whole bounded by a lofty chain of mountains, can offer, is here included in the view. The village of Taguahy contains very few houses; near it is a *registro*, or guard-house, at which some soldiers and their *commandant* are stationed for the inspection of passports, and the examination of the baggage of travellers from the mine-districts.

On my return to Rio, I stopped at another *engenho* near the road-side, where a steam-engine of an eight-horse power was employed for the works of the sugar-mill. It had been brought from England by an English engineer, with several others, upon speculation, and lately put up on this plantation.

After this short tour, I made another in an easterly direction towards Cape Frio, but saw nothing worthy of a particular description. The country is thinly peopled, and of course not much cultivated. It is extensively occupied by salt and fresh water lakes; some in the immediate vicinity of the sea, others four or five miles inland: these are skirted on their northern

sides by hills and forests. The inhabitants, generally speaking, appeared to be an ignorant, boorish, and inhospitable set of people; and the accommodations afforded in the *vendas* to strangers, were not less wretched than elsewhere.

The walks and rides in the neighbourhood of Rio, offer beauties to the view, in all directions, which can never be sufficiently admired; but however delightful they may be to the individual traveller, reiterated descriptions of them might not afford equal pleasure to the reader: else would it be easy to particularize the gracefully-bending bay and surrounding villas of Botta Fogo—the luxuriant orange and citron groves of Laranjeiras—the magnificent panoramic view from the lofty peak of the Corcovado, and the waterfall and romantic scenery of Tejuco. Upon the beauties of Tejuco, indeed, it is difficult not to dwell longer, if it were only to mention " with devotion due" the agreeable society and charms of the fair adventurers who graced the party which I was fortunate enough to accompany on a visit to that delightful spot.

The Vasco de Gama put to sea on the 14th of

December; and, at the end of ten days, returned with difficulty into port, having sprung a dangerous leak the first night of her voyage. This unpropitious circumstance induced me to make an entire alteration in my plans; and, as the departure of the Vasco had now become very uncertain, I determined, in the absence of another direct conveyance, to effect a passage to China over the Pacific Ocean, by the more circuitous and unusual passage of Cape Horn. After passing, therefore, another week among my hospitable friends and entertainers in Rio, whose attentions, without taking the liberty of using their names, it is no less a pleasure than a duty to acknowledge, I at length again embarked, and bade adieu to the shores of Brazil.

CHAPTER VII.

General Survey of Brazilian History.—Consequences of Free Trade and Intercourse with Foreigners.—State of Public Affairs during the Residence of the King at Rio Janeiro.—Provisional Regency of the Prince Don Pedro.—Rupture between Brazil and Portugal.—Natural Resources of Brazil.—Population, how composed.—Indians.—Slaves.—Free Blacks, and People of mixed Castes.—White Creole Inhabitants.—Political Prospects.—Character of the Reigning Monarch, Don Pedro.—General Summary.

THREE hundred years have elapsed, since the accidental discovery of Brazil by Cabral led to its subsequent colonization by the Portuguese nation. That space of time may be conveniently divided into three principal periods: the first dates from the year 1500 to 1661; the second, from 1661 to 1808; the third, from 1808 to the present time.

During the first of these periods, it is interesting to trace the early progress of colonization, notwithstanding every species of discouragement, from

the natural difficulties of a new country, from the hostility of warlike Indian tribes, and from repeated foreign invasions. The Dutch, under Prince Meurice, and other able Generals, and supported by a vigorous home administration, were for a long time the most formidable enemies of the Portuguese settlers, whose Government, weakened by the junction of the mother-country to the Crown of Spain, became incapable of affording to the infant colony suitable protection. At length, however, the enterprising and martial spirit which still characterized the Portuguese, triumphed over every obstacle; and the treaty concluded with Holland in 1661, by leaving them peaceful and sole possessors of Brazil, naturally forms an important epoch in the colonial history.

During the remainder of the seventeenth, and throughout the eighteenth century, little occurred, in a political point of view, to check the rising prosperity of the colony. The gold mines of Jaragua, Villarica, &c., and the diamonds of Tejuca, were severally discovered and worked. The celebrated dye-wood also came into use; and sugar, coffee, cotton, &c., with other productions peculiar

to the Tropics, enriched the successful cultivators. In proportion as these resources multiplied and extended, the country increased in population and importance; the cities of Pernambuco, Bahia, and Rio Janeiro, became the centres of an extensive and lucrative commerce with the mother-country; and at length the emigration of John the Sixth, with his Court and family, to Rio, in 1808, established that city in pre-eminence, as the seat of Government and capital of the whole country.

From this last and most important epoch, the birth of Brazil as a nation may be said to date: her existence as a colony virtually ceased, when, by the opening of her ports to the whole world, she became, in a commercial point of view, independent of the mother-country; and, by a subsequent decree of the King, in December 1815, Brazil was formally declared to constitute part of his United Kingdom.

The unlimited circulation occasioned by the former measure of foreign, and especially British manufactured goods, by creating new wants among the inhabitants, necessarily multiplied the motives to industry; while the increasing demand for their

produce in return, augmented at the same time the resources of individual and national wealth. The confluence of foreigners in the principal cities and their vicinity, tended either directly, or indirectly, to benefit the country; and their superior knowledge in every branch of the useful arts, continues to have a salutary influence in promoting general improvement. The number of English residents in the town of Rio is very considerable, and comprises a large proportion of respectable merchants, besides tradesmen, artisans, and others. Above thirty houses of business have been established during the last few years, in connexion with commercial houses in England, and they are annually becoming more and more numerous. The French constitute a still larger body of inhabitants, and are said to exceed a thousand. They are, however, inferior in wealth and consideration to the English, and generally come under the class of retail traders; not more than two large houses of business having hitherto been established among them. Their cafés, and shops for the sale of millinery, jewellery, *bijoux, et toutes sortes de nouveautés,* are highly ornamental to the streets of

Rio, and impart to them a certain air of industry and cheerfulness. The English supply goods of more solid manufacture and general utility, and their circulation extends throughout the interior, whilst that of the French fabrics is chiefly confined to the large cities on the coast.

A considerable number of Germans, some merchants, others tradespeople and mechanics, together with Swiss emigrants from Môrro Quemado, and a few Chinese, must likewise be here mentioned; and the total amount of the foreign population in Rio may be computed by a low estimate at between three and four thousand. The use of English machinery is not much known, and the want of it, in the absence of any important native manufactures, little felt. The late introduction of a few steam-engines into Rio Janeiro, and their application to sugar-mills, has been already noticed in another place. At Bahia, which is the finest and most important sugar-district of Brazil, they are said to have long been in more general use. The advantages resulting from British enterprise and ingenuity are, in fact, becoming everywhere more or less apparent under different forms;

and the establishment of several English planters, with machinery of an improved construction, new to the inhabitants on the borders of the river Parayba, nearly two hundred miles from Rio, may serve incidentally to show that foreign improvements, although not yet generally and systematically adopted, are nevertheless beginning to make their way into the remotest parts of the country.

The propagation of useful knowledge, through the medium of the press, is another of the benefits actually derived, though not necessarily, from foreign intercourse. Previous to the year 1808, not one bookseller's shop was to be found in Rio: there are now several; yet the sale for books continues to be limited, and disproportionate to the degree of instruction required, by the excessive ignorance of the mass of the people. The habit of reading books (not to dignify it by the higher name of love of literature) has not yet penetrated into the interior, and prevails but very partially even among the higher classes of society in Rio Janeiro. French books are the most popular, and most read, the French language being more universally known than any other. The use of Eng-

lish books is almost solely confined to the English residents: it should be observed, however, that no obstacles are placed in the way of their circulation, by the Government. With regard to foreigners, a tone of liberality has been uniformly adopted by the King and his Ministers, which reflects the highest credit upon their administration. Such a system, if persevered in, may gradually tend to conquer the prejudices, diminish the ignorance, and remove the excessive dislike to innovation, which now characterise the Brazilian creoles, and which have been in a great measure caused by the restrictive and narrow system of policy pursued in former times.

Thus, from the operation of two simple causes, namely, free trade and consequent intercourse with foreigners, the state of Rio and Brazil generally may be said to have made considerable advances towards a better order of things, during the comparatively short interval since the arrival of the King and Royal Family in 1808.

It would be most agreeable to be able to speak in equally favorable terms of the effects produced by this event on the character of the Government

of the country; but a due regard to truth obliges the impartial traveller to state the general opinion, that in very few respects has this been the case. The best-informed persons on the spot appear to be fully justified in attributing the slow advances of this Government towards legislative improvement, as well as the impediments which are opposed to its progress, to the system of favoritism, political intrigue, and corruption, which characterized the Portuguese Court, and have gained, instead of losing ground, by its removal from Lisbon to Rio Janeiro. The delicate nature of the subject necessarily prevents the publication of any details relative to public men or measures, which can only be collected from general observation, and reported on general opinion; although it would be improper wholly to pass over evils which have an undoubted existence, when professing to convey a faithful idea of the real state of things during this latter period of Brazilian history.

It is well known that the different members of the Royal Family were never much united; that the Court was split into several petty factions, and its respectability compromised and impaired by the

contentions of rival interests. The principal members of it were emigrant nobility of broken fortunes and official adventurers of a more humble class, both equally desirous to obtain places of honour and profit through Royal favour. The absolute power vested in the hands of the King afforded wide scope for the exercise of favoritism; and the degree of influence thus given to a few, was too great not to be often made use of by them to the prejudice of the many. The absence of responsibility on the part of the ministers, placed the public money altogether at the disposal of the Crown; and the expenditure, as well public as private, is represented to have been both wasteful and ill-judged. While large sums were annually squandered in useless extravagance, a scanty provision was allotted to the real exigencies of the Government.

The navy, which at the best had always been ill-organized and ill-found, fell into yet greater insignificance: old ships were left to rot in the ports for want of necessary repairs, and no new ones built to supply their place; so that very few men-of-war remained at Rio in a serviceable state.

With the exception of two or three public buildings, and the execution of some well-meant but expensive and ill-conducted projects, no visible benefits have accrued to the country from the millions that have passed through the treasury; yet, at the same time, it is remarked that large fortunes have been realised by many official personages.

In the collection of the revenue arising from diamond mines, which have hitherto been always considered as Crown property, and from the fifth part of the profits of gold mines paid by their respective proprietors to Government, the money had to pass through so many hands, and abuses of trust were unfortunately so common, that a very undue proportion of it finally reached the public treasury. The collection of the customs was not less notoriously ill-conducted, and smuggling systematically pursued on a large scale. The officers of the revenue, and other public servants, being irregularly paid, became the more accessible to bribery; and the value of an office was, in the usual course of things, estimated, not at the affixed salary, but at what could be made from it by various methods of evasion and extortion.

Hence the regular course of trade was very much impeded, and an undue advantage given to the smuggler over the fair and honorable trader. The prevalence of illicit practices rendered it, in fact, difficult to draw any clear line of demarcation; and those even who might have felt disposed to resist this torrent of corruption, either from better principles or more sound views, were borne down by the force and impetuosity of the stream. The legitimate resources of Government being thus impaired, and its expenditure receiving no check, other ways and means of raising money were necessarily resorted to. In former times it had been usual for the colony to send its treasures to the mother-country, but now the system was reversed, and large sums were remitted at various times from Lisbon to the Court at Rio.

The sale of patents of nobility, stars, crosses, and *habitos do Christo,* or insignia of the Order of Christ, and others similar to it, was among the most innocent, and at the same time lucrative, expedients for raising money. The rage for these decorations attained a greater height at Rio than it had perhaps ever before done in any country;

almost every petty shopkeeper might be seen in the streets on holidays with his *habito do Christo.* These purchased honours were worn by dignitaries of the church, as well as by civilians of every degree; and the quality and quantity of them established the rank of each individual in society.

The establishment of the Bank was a fertile source of temporary profit. At its head stood the King, who nominally subscribed to a large amount, but the real funds were contributed by a company of private individuals. A considerable paper currency succeeded, and the value of specie continued to be unduly raised by debasing the coinage. Spanish dollars* were sent to the mint, and reissued in the form of three-pataca pieces, worth 960 reis. Copper coin underwent a similar process, and was circulated in still greater abundance. Thus the support of Government gave credit to the Bank, and the Bank in return supported Government by its funds; while future contingencies were not contemplated, much less provided for,

* Spanish dollars, at the par of exchange, are worth 800 reis Portuguese currency.

by those who were entrusted with the financial operations of the Crown.

There were known to be many who disapproved of the banking system from its commencement; but their remonstrances were either not heard, or they did not deem it prudent to press them. One rich Portuguese merchant was named to me, who did protest boldly against the proceedings, but soon found out the necessity of lowering his tone; and he was said to have paid no less a sum than 25,000 dollars to save the bulk of his property from confiscation.

The King, soon after his arrival, abrogated the ancient system of colonial laws, and substituted the code of Portugal, with all its bulky official appendages. The change is generally thought to have been beneficial, yet, in the administration of public justice, the same defects and abuses which are well known to characterize Portuguese tribunals have been perpetuated in Brazil. The prosecution of criminals is left to the parties injured, and not conducted by Government except at their desire; so that as the attendant expenses are

heavy, and the suit troublesome, crimes frequently go unpunished, or, what is still worse, private revenge is allowed to take the place of public justice.

To illustrate familiarly the prevalence of this evil, an instance may be cited of an individual pointed out to me in the neighbourhood of Rio, who, from motives of jealousy, had been guilty of not less than four assassinations during the past year; and, although the facts were notorious, he lived on as usual without being called to any account. It is probable, indeed, that he will one day be made a victim in his turn to the revenge of the kinsmen of his deceased enemies: but such a system of retributive justice is sufficient to unhinge the whole fabric of society. In civil causes the delays and expense proverbially attendant upon law-suits have been increased, as in Portugal, by the want of publicity in the tribunals, and the consequent facilities opened to mal-practices in the administration of justice.

The processes instituted by Government against individuals, either on public grounds, or, as was often the case, at the instigation of persons of influence in office, were of a very different and

more summary description. No Habeas-corpus Act, no trial by jury, no free press, was here to defend the liberty or life of the subject; and, taking the most favourable view of things, to suppose that such unlimited power could be given and not abused, would be to suppose what all past experience of human nature goes utterly to disprove.

Under the operation of this political system, it will not appear surprising that the arts of corruption and intrigue should increase, and extend to every department of civil life. With different motives and for different ends, they were, in fact, necessarily resorted to by all who had any thing to lose or any thing to gain. Some practised them for the mere gratification of pride, but more for the sake of power and wealth; these in order to injure their neighbours, those to benefit and protect themselves.

Such was the state of public affairs in Rio Janeiro when the late Portuguese revolution broke out, and the re-establishment of the ancient Constitution of the Cortes made a material change in the government at Lisbon. As soon as the intelli-

gence of this event was received in Rio Janeiro, it created a strong sensation. Many hailed it with delight and enthusiasm, others with dissatisfaction and dread; yet, as the tide of public opinion evidently ran on the popular side, and the army declared in favour of the Cortes, not the slightest attempt at opposition was made, nor did the King hesitate immediately to swear to maintain the new Constitution. That done, he collected together all the money which was to be found in the Treasury and Bank, and embarking quietly with the Queen and Princesses, and young Prince Don Miguel, on the evening of the 24th of April, 1821, sailed for Lisbon, after a residence of thirteen years in Brazil. Some of his ministers and courtiers accompanied him; others went away to foreign countries through fear of the new rulers in Portugal; and a few remained with the King's eldest son, Don Pedro, who was placed at the head of a provisional government, under the name of Regent.

In the beginning of August following, I landed at Rio: and it was soon easy to perceive the great confusion that prevailed in the state of public affairs. The Prince Regent was young and inex-

perienced, the ministers scarcely felt themselves fixed in their places, and the thinking part of the community, roused as if by an electric shock from their long stupor, yet doubtful of the consequences of the change, knew not what to hope, what to fear, what to believe. The prevailing sentiment seemed to be that of joy at the promised establishment of the Constitution, although they as yet were very ignorant of its nature, and unable justly to appreciate its supposed advantages: some popular tumults took place, and the repetition of them was dreaded; but the spirit and firmness of the Prince checked all seditious movements before they could prove dangerous. On one occasion, he did not hesitate to order out the guard, and bade them fire upon the populace, assembled in large numbers about the Custom-house. By this timely interference, public tranquillity was preserved, and confidence given to the lovers of social order.

The exuberance of popular feeling afterwards displayed itself more harmlessly, in the use of constitutional cockades, the singing of national hymns, the performance of constitutional pieces at the

theatre, and cries of *Vive a nossa constituição!* repeated *ad infinitum.*

One of the popular dramas of the day was called *A Escola dos Principes,* or School for Princes: it represented the errors into which a young Prince may be betrayed, and contained many hints, moral and political, by far too just and applicable to be tolerated under a despotic Government. It had been accordingly suppressed on its first production some years ago; but being now more in unison with the spirit of the times, its representation was announced for the Prince's birthday. He went to the play that night, and sat out the whole performance very unconcernedly, although the allusions in it were sometimes so pointed, that the eyes of the audience naturally turned towards the Royal box, and the applause bestowed on certain passages revealed unceremoniously the true state of public opinion. Many persons had imagined that the occasion would be made use of by the factious, to promote a popular tumult; and the Prince therefore went attended by a very numerous body-guard of horse and foot soldiers, but fortunately their interference was not required.

The scene altogether was curious, and well worthy of remark in a country where absolute despotism had hitherto prevailed, and where the people and their rulers had been equally unaccustomed to any expressions of political feeling. The friends of Royalty thought that certain parts of the performance might well have been spared; and as mankind are ever prone to extremes, none but ultra-liberals could have wished to see any encouragement given to the spirit of disloyalty and sedition. Good policy required that the ascendancy of Government should be preserved, in order to regulate the changes anticipated under a new order of things, and to extract from them the maximum of good with the minimum of evil. Still, as the influence of public opinion increased, it was necessary to bear with the less agreeable manifestations of it; and the Prince, in order to extend his own influence, found it convenient to court popularity at all points. He visited the arsenal and gave orders for improvements, appeared continually in public, and returned with unwonted condescension the salutes of those who passed. He likewise issued proclamations expressive of attachment to

the inhabitants of Brazil, and demanding their faithful allegiance in return; nor did he neglect the army, but held reviews, and put himself at the head of the troops in the Campo St. Anna: thus proving that all his energies were called forth by the peculiar difficulties of his situation.

Among the accumulated evils that were now sensibly felt, those resulting from the late banking system, and the bare state in which the King had left the Treasury, produced most general inconvenience. The depressed finances of the Bank had become apparent; and, as no one could depend with certainty upon the future restitution of its funds by the Portuguese Government, its credit was in a great measure lost. The superabundance of paper currency was such, that the possessors of it were unable to disencumber themselves of the load: the scarcity of specie daily became greater, and its value increased in proportion as public confidence in the Bank diminished. Portuguese gold pieces of 6400 reis were sold at 8000 reis, Spanish dollars at 1050 and even 1100 reis, and copper bore a premium of two and three per cent. Silver coin was scarcely to be met with in common

use; and, for the purchase of small articles at shops, it became necessary to carry a bag of copper coin. The effects produced by this unnatural state of things, in a commercial city, can be easier imagined than described; business, both among foreign and Brazilian merchants, was of course very much impeded, and the failure of two large English mercantile houses, which had been closely connected with the old Government, and that of some others of less note, served at the same time to increase the excitement and alarms which had seized the public mind.

While affairs were thus situated, the Provisional Government proceeded, without any remarkable changes or occurrences taking place, up to the close of the year 1821. The attention of the public became daily more and more turned towards political subjects; but the present appeared lost sight of, in the contemplation of the future. All awaited in eager and anxious expectation the arrival of news from Portugal, by which they might learn the measures about to be pursued there, and calculate the influence which they were likely to have over the destinies of Brazil. At

length, when the desired intelligence did arrive, its unsatisfactory import redoubled the general consternation.

The Portuguese Constitution contained an important clause, by which it was declared, that no decisive measures should be adopted by the Cortes in Portugal with regard to Brazil, previous to the arrival there of all the representative deputies; yet when the King reached Lisbon, and the Government of the Cortes appeared firmly established in authority, they, regardless of the Constitutional rights of the Brazilians, already granted and acknowledged by themselves, adopted several obnoxious and impolitic resolutions. In the first place, they revived an hitherto dormant duty upon British cloths, by a new and arbitrary construction of the British treaty; 2dly, they portioned Brazil out into provinces, each to have a local government dependent upon the mother-country; and altered the organization of the public tribunals: 3dly, they commanded the Prince Regent, Don Pedro, to resign the government and join his father in Europe: Lastly, they sent out Portuguese troops and ships of war to enforce the fulfilment of their orders in Brazil.

The Brazilians did not desire at this time to be separated from the mother-country, but refused to return again into the dependent condition of colonists. They approved and entered into the spirit of the Constitution, and protested only against the infringement of it, which had thus early taken place. With regard to the Prince, they deemed his presence too advantageous to be spared at such a crisis, and were unwilling to abandon all hope of establishing a monarchical form of government on a constitutional basis.

In pursuance of these and similar opinions, secret meetings were convened, and some political pamphlets, written with great spirit and ability, expressed in an unqualified manner the wish of the people, that Don Pedro should remain among them. Upon him all eyes were then fixed, and the result of his decision was awaited with an interest proportionate to its importance.

Finally, a public meeting was called together in the month of January, when, in a manner most gratifying to the people, the Prince declared his resolution to obey the voice of his Brazilian subjects, in preference to that of the Portuguese Cortes. This

step once taken, he lost no time in following it up with corresponding energy. The Portuguese troops, who alone remonstrated, were sent over the water to Praya Grande: transports were provided for their embarkation, and notice given, that unless they left the harbour of Rio before three days had expired, they would be attacked and cut to pieces by superior forces. The Prince placed himself at the head of the Brazilian army, and adopted such prompt measures for carrying his words into effect, that, deeming resistance useless, they sailed within the appointed time; and thus Portugal lost her sole remaining hold upon the capital of her ancient colony.

In order to estimate with any degree of accuracy the probable future state of Brazil, and the rank which she is likely to hold among independent nations, her resources, natural and political, must first be inquired into. That the former are considerable, no one can deny: that the latter bear an equal proportion to them, is much less easy of demonstration.

A country extending from the Equator to Lat. 35° S., and from the 35th to the 64th degree of W. Longitude, may well be called great. The con-

tiguity of the Atlantic Ocean, and the excellence of various harbours, render it easily accessible, for purposes of trade with Europe, Africa, and the East; and the many large rivers which traverse the interior in all directions, increase those commercial facilities. Independent of the mineral treasures which nature pours forth in unusual abundance, as gold, and diamonds, and various precious stones, a number of important vegetable productions are either of spontaneous growth, or admit of easy cultivation. These latter, indeed, constitute the surest and least exhaustible funds of national wealth. Timber, rice, and cotton, form the staple exports from Para and Maranham; cotton from Pernambuco, sugar from Bahia, and coffee from Rio Janeiro: but the culture of these several productions is by no means confined to any particular districts.

The most cursory glance will thus suffice to show, that Brazil unites within herself almost every advantage which climate, situation, and productiveness of soil, can afford, throughout an immense extent of territory. Yet, notwithstanding such vast and manifold natural resources, her greatness as a nation must still mainly depend upon

the means which may exist for rendering those resources available to political purposes. Speculations upon the capabilities of a country are only calculated to mislead, unless data are at the same time given for calculating the degree of benefit actually derived, or likely to be derived at no distant period of time, from them. On this account the resources of Brazil, which appear at first sight so great, lose, upon farther consideration, a large share of their supposed importance.

The obstacles which must occur to check their beneficial influence in any very high degree upon the future state of the country, originate principally in the nature of the population, its paucity, its disunion, and its inherent weakness. There exist no documents upon the accuracy of which great reliance can be placed, in order to assist inquiries into the total amount of the population; calculations vary between three and four millions: but if we take the mean, namely, 3,500,000, how slight a proportion does it bear to so large an extent of territory,—a territory computed to contain not less than three millions and sixty thousand square miles!

Highly favored, therefore, as these immense

regions undoubtedly are by nature, their very immensity is rather injurious than advantageous, in a political point of view; and the long period of time which must elapse before the population can become in any material degree proportioned to the magnitude of the country, renders any speculative remarks unnecessary upon the probable rapidity of its future increase. Under the best circumstances, a nation thus scattered and divided, would long be politically weak; and the particular condition of Brazil seems calculated to increase rather than diminish the ill effects produced by this general cause.

A scanty and disunited population may still render itself formidable, if its component members are strong in themselves, and supported by a well-organized government. Such, however, is not here the case. From a comparison of various authorities, it appears, that out of three millions and five hundred thousand inhabitants, not more than 600,000, according to the highest estimate, are of pure European descent; and the remainder may be computed at 600,000, Mulattoes, Mestizoes,*

* The mixed castes between negroes and Indians are termed, in Brazil, Mestizoes.

Mamalucoes,* and free Blacks; 1,800,000 slaves, and 500,000 Indians.

Neither the moral character, social habits, nor intellectual attainments, of those who compose these several classes, afford materials of much intrinsic value wherewith to build up the fabric of future greatness.

The Indian Aborigines have not, as in many other parts of America, become amalgamated, in any considerable degree, by intermarriages and civilization, with the new possessors of the soil. They have, for the most part, gradually retreated before their European invaders into the yet unexplored recesses of the country, or continue to live among the colonists, like those described in the Narrative on the banks of the river Parayba, in a state very little removed above that of pristine barbarism. According as colonization advances, it is supposed that their several tribes will, by degrees, become extirpated; but, be that as it may, few or no benefits either do result, or can

* The mixed castes between whites and Indians are termed Mamalucoes.

ever be expected to result, to Brazil from this part of the population.

The African slaves form a more useful and important class of people; yet, in the scale of civilization, they are not many degrees raised above the Indian, and can hardly be said to possess any higher attributes than those of mere physical force. Barbarians by birth, and bred up in total ignorance of all that raises man above the brute creation, their subsequent state of servitude in Brazil tends effectually to perpetuate that ignorance, and mental as well as moral degradation. That such a class of people, thus unfortunately situated, should compose the bulk of the community, is a circumstance by no means propitious to the advancement of a nation in political greatness.

The general subject of slavery has of late been too often viewed, under all its bearings, *usque ad nauseam*, to require reconsideration here. Since, however, the existence of that state appears to be now universally deemed a great national evil, its particular tendency in Brazil ought not to be altogether lost sight of, with reference to the future prospects of the country.

Of the personal condition and happiness of the negro slaves, it is absurd to judge from the feelings which we ourselves would entertain if placed in a similar situation. They certainly appear to be a cheerful-minded and contented race of people, and ignorance may be termed bliss to them, in the lowest sense of the word: not so, however, to the society at large, of which they compose a part. Happiness, founded upon ignorance and insensibility, is at best degrading to the character of man; and whatever degrades its members, must entail degradation upon the whole body politic.

The same cause which renders other laws in a great measure nugatory in Brazil, namely, the corruption and mal-organization of the Government, operates of course upon those which relate to the treatment of the slave population. Hence unlimited authority is possessed by masters over their bond-servants; and the condition of the latter is necessarily of a vague and indefinite nature, sometimes better, sometimes worse, according to the particular temper and disposition of individuals. In the British West Indies, laws are regularly administered, and the superintending

influence of an efficient Government in England, backed by the force of public opinion and Parliamentary inquiry, serves as a check upon any great abuse of power; but here the wisest laws are so easily evaded, and the weak left so entirely at the mercy of the strong, that the interest of the owner in the services of his slave is almost the only hold which the latter has upon him for good usage.

The continuance of the slave-trade, which no expostulations on the part of England have hitherto been able to prevent, materially increases this evil. The facility of obtaining new slaves renders care and attention on the part of the owners less essential towards those he already possesses; and, in the absence of strong, moral feelings or fear of public justice, human life itself is subject to be trifled with in a manner dreadful to relate. My Swiss servant informed me of a gentleman with whom he had formerly lived, who, on one occasion, beat a slave so unmercifully, that the poor wretch actually died upon the spot. He was forthwith buried in the garden where the murder happened, and the affair passed off as a matter of course.

By the mention of this story, it is not intended

to insinuate that similar murders are of constant occurrence, but merely to show the evils to which negro slaves are particularly exposed in a country where the laws afford them no certain protection.

The slave-market at Rio is in the Rua do Vallongo, where the retail traders keep shops, and deal out human beings to their customers with as much insensibility and *sang-froid* as they would British goods. No one who has suffered the pain of witnessing it can forget the scene; but to describe it and read of it would be almost as heart-sickening as the sight itself, and I shall therefore pass over the subject without farther remark.

Negro amelioration is not a subject, as may be supposed, which has yet engaged the attention of Government or of individuals in Brazil. It is fair to state, however, that the religious welfare of the negroes is not neglected; and, although they may not understand the doctrines or practise many of the duties of Christianity, they observe some of its external forms and ceremonies. On Sunday, large numbers of them may be seen in

the churches, particularly females. They are most of them taught to repeat a prayer or two, and confess occasionally to the priest. They are also baptized; and married, if they desire it, according to the forms of the Roman Catholic church.

On plantations, prayers are generally repeated in public, before they commence their daily labours at sunrise, and when they retire to rest at sunset. Their tutelary saint, whose festival is celebrated with much merriment and Saturnalian license, is called *Nostra Senhora do Rosario*—Our Lady of the Rosary. Thirty-five church-feast days altogether are given them in the year, besides Sundays, for the pursuit of their own private avocations or pleasures; subject, however, of course, to the will of the master.

Whatever judgment may be formed, from this slight survey of slavery in Brazil, on the personal condition of those who are subjected to its influence, there appear, nevertheless, sufficient grounds for asserting, that negro slaves constitute a debased, and in every respect objectionable, class of inhabitants. Such people, although they may

excel the Indian Aborigines in civilization and industry, are nevertheless ill fitted to take a part in the affairs of a great and flourishing nation.

Free mulattoes and free negroes, together with a trifling proportion of Mestizoes and Mamalucoes, come next under consideration. Of these the mulattoes are by far the most numerous; and, in the scale of knowledge and political importance, they certainly rank above the African slave; but as regards character, they stand very low in public estimation. They seem to unite the vices of savage and civilized life, without opposing to them any stock of characteristic virtues; and the women, as well as men, are remarkable for the indulgence of violent passions, unregulated by any principle of religious or natural morality. As masters of slaves, they are generally cruel and hard-hearted; and woe to the unfortunate wretches whose fate is made to depend entirely on their will! In the large cities they gain a livelihood by trades, as our upper class of workmen, and as boatmen, or rather as superintendents of slaves employed to row in boats. Throughout the interior, they hold, in the same manner, a situation between

that of the whites and slaves, and sometimes cultivate small farms of their own, or deal in cattle, mules, &c.: a large number serve as under-muleteers. They are notorious gamesters, cunning, treacherous, and revengeful; and whatever crimes are perpetrated in the country, are chiefly attributed to them.

Mulattoes are eligible to any offices in the church and state; and, freedom once obtained, the colour of the skin is reckoned no ground of distinction or degradation. The consequences of this liberal system are evidently most beneficial to the community, as a stimulus to exertion is thus created, and a class of people, not less powerful than dangerous, are united by mutual interest with the whites, instead of being rendered hostile to them by a painful state of inferiority. Should any insurrection of the slaves ever unfortunately take place, these people would in all probability make common cause with the white inhabitants against them.

Portuguese settlers, and creoles of Portuguese descent, compose the last remaining part of the population of Brazil; and they may be said to con-

stitute the aristocracy of the country. Compare it, however, with the aristocracies of Europe, and how weak—nay, how low, will it appear! The majority are, farmers, or, as they are more properly called, planters, and miners, with their various subordinate agents, who are so scattered far and wide over an enormous extent of territory, and so divided by rivers, woods, and mountains, from each other, that it is difficult to associate them connectedly together as fellow-members of one body politic. Living isolated, for the most part in farms and in places remote from the principal towns, and even other habitations, they enjoy few of the benefits which, in civilized countries, are supposed to be derived from social intercourse; and the progress of improvement among them must therefore be proportionably slow. Never thrown among persons superior to themselves, either in intellectual attainments or habits of life, they cannot perceive their own ignorance, nor feel its disadvantages; and, indeed, know no higher ambition than that which the mere love of money inspires, for the gratification of their favourite propensities. Children bred up in the same unenlightened and

rude manner, adopt in their turn the same habits of life; and this bad state of things among individuals, becomes thus perpetuated throughout the nation at large.

It may be said, that the late political changes in the Government will tend to improve the moral and intellectual condition of this class of the population; but a great number of intermediate steps must still be taken, before the various drawbacks to improvement which now exist can be sufficiently removed to afford room for the operation of new causes. Independent planters, who reside on their own estates, all more or less remote from the seat of Government, and unconnected by the usual ties of society, like so many petty lords among their dependant vassals, are little influenced by political changes; and at present they are unaccustomed to obey any laws, or to submit to any control beyond that of their own feelings and inclination. Until, therefore, a sensible increase of numbers takes place among them, so as to make a connecting link between the distant settlements of Brazil and the metropolis, or provincial towns, from which civilization may be supposed to radiate,

and produce in some degree a spirit of emulation and mental energy, it does not seem likely that they will make very rapid progress in knowledge, and in the arts and habits of more polished life.

Of the remaining white inhabitants, the principal portion is composed of persons engaged in trade, who live in sea-port towns, and more particularly in the large cities of the coast, viz. Para, Maranham, Pernambuco, Bahia, and Rio Janeiro. Among these, undoubtedly, a higher degree of advancement has been made in the arts which constitute and adorn society, than among the people of the interior; and the above-mentioned cities, particularly the three latter, are, as it were, central points in which the largest accumulation of talent, knowledge, and riches, must be supposed to exist. To Rio Janeiro alone did my personal observation extend; but it is natural to suppose, that being the capital of the country, and seat of Government, and the place most frequented by foreigners, the condition of its inhabitants, in point of polish and attainments, is at least not inferior to the rest. How then shall they be characterised? The

richest and most respectable Brazilian merchants are chiefly persons of very low plebeian origin, who originally left Portugal as adventurers, and began business by keeping petty retail shops, or dealing in slaves; which latter sort of trade, however disgusting, is in fact a very abundant source of profit in Brazil.

But success in trade does not necessarily produce a corresponding change for the better in character and habits of life, which is strongly exemplified in the Brazilian merchants, the highest of whom, in their style of living, resemble more the class of shopkeepers than that of merchants in England. They may be commonly seen sitting, each behind the counter of his store or shop, in a loose linen jacket, and, as far as appearance goes, not distinguishable from their shopmen. The time for dinner is the middle of the day; then comes the *sesta*, after which they return again to the shop till evening: and this is the regular routine of their lives; for they mix very little in general society, and for certain feelings of jealousy, which are said to characterise them, rarely receive male visitors at their own houses. Their manners

are generally coarse and vulgar; and they are not only illiterate through defect of education, but because they neither converse on nor take an interest in any subjects, but such as are connected with their own private affairs.

The inferior shopkeepers are of course still more illiterate and unpolished, and live in a most comfortless manner. Not to descend to more minute particulars, it will be sufficient to observe, that, at meals, the master and mistress of the family, with their children, may be commonly seen helping themselves with their fingers to the *pão da farinha*, or dried meal, out of the same dish; while at the same time not fewer than half-a-dozen male and female slaves may be in attendance, all dirty and half-dressed.

Of the clergy the less that is said the better, since they cannot with truth be spoken of in any terms of approbation; and to give a public exposition of their improper habits and vicious practices, would bring along with it more scandalous details than it would be right to mention: but since the conduct of the ministers of religion is always very influential over the moral character of

a people, it may be observed, that the irregularities of this class, especially of the friars, adds another to the many evils already noticed, under which the inhabitants of Brazil at present labour, and tends in a great measure to debase the national character.

Of individuals, who by birth, office, education, or attainments, are superior to the other classes, a very small proportion is to be found. These few are nearly all natives of Portugal; some, emigrant nobility and regular courtiers,—others, belonging to the Government, and holding offices of honour or trust. In them the administration of public affairs must still continue; and while they monopolize all the political talent and knowledge in the country, it seems natural that they should likewise monopolize all political power.

Having now finished this sketch of the various classes of inhabitants in Brazil, it would appear, that in her present state she is not fitted to become a very powerful nation; and that, with regard to the future, many political drawbacks arising from the same causes are likely to check the prosperity which such vast natural

resources, if brought into proper use, might be expected to create.

Of the great revolutionary change which has taken place subsequent to the date of the preceding Narrative, namely, the establishment of a new Constitutional form of Government under the Emperor Don Pedro, it is not here intended to speak at length. It forms, however, a new and most important era in Brazilian history; and, without hazarding any conjectures upon its probable advantages, it may be safely said, that the defects of the old *regime* were so great and numerous as to render a new order of things almost necessarily beneficial to the country. Still, however, the best organized revolution is pregnant with danger, and schemes of constitutional government, which appear good in theory, will often, when put into practice, be found vitally defective.

The principal and most obvious danger to the general government of the country proceeds from the disunion of its provinces. Pernambuco, and Bahia, and Rio Janeiro, have no common bond of interest, and their several leading inhabitants entertain sentiments of jealousy rather than of

friendship towards each other. Bahia, being the most central city and ancient capital, would desire to recover its pre-eminence; yet the seat of Government is, and will probably always continue, at Rio Janeiro. The prevalence of democratic opinions at Pernambuco, and the restless spirit of the people, indispose them towards a monarch whose Court is so remotely situate from their part of the country, and for whose person neither ancient custom nor political principle has given rise to feelings of loyalty and respect. Already have symptoms of this factious and republican spirit shown themselves on several occasions, and led, very recently, to an alarming popular insurrection. It was fortunately quelled for the time-being by the friends of the Emperor and his Government; but the prospect for the future certainly looks threatening, and it seems uncertain whether Brazil will long continue to form one united empire.

In Rio Janeiro the doctrines of universal liberty and republicanism have as yet few advocates; but, on the contrary, the inhabitants generally appreciate the advantage of retaining, at the head of

Government, an hereditary monarch belonging to the illustrious house of Braganza. His person is considered as a *point d'appui*, round which all parties may unite; and by thus depriving the hydra of faction of its many heads, deprive it of its deadly venom and destructive powers.

The character of Don Pedro is, moreover, well calculated to ensure the obedience of his subjects and preserve public tranquillity in unsettled times. He has proved himself to be a man of spirit and firmness on several occasions of emergency; and the well-wishers of social order must hope that he will long continue to preside over the Government.

That the condition of the people is not fitted for a Republic, cannot but be apparent to all who examine into it; for the existence of slavery is of itself a sufficient reason why a regal form of government should be maintained, to the exclusion of levelling revolutionary principles. Let these be repressed by the strong arm of legitimate authority, and the happiness of the community will be far better promoted, than if upstart dema-

gogues and political adventurers were contending for power and place, in the midst of the anarchy and confusion which always attend new-formed democracies.

In countries, however, like Brazil, where a pure administration of justice, and other constituent parts of good government, have hitherto been utterly unknown, and where the people are in reality almost too ignorant to feel the want of blessings which they never possessed, it must not be expected that the abuses of the old system should become all at once abolished. Many are still attached to them by motives of private interest, others through force of habit; and the few who possess the will and power to legislate, are the very persons least likely to promote the cause of political improvement. Reforms, whenever and wherever they take place, should be gradual, and proportioned to the degree of advancement made by the inhabitants in knowledge and civilization. Their present condition has been already described; and, in summing up these general observations on Brazil, it must be

confessed, that whatever rank she may hereafter be entitled to bear among the nations of America, she cannot, in this our day at least, attain any great political power, nor take a high and influential place among the old established nations of Europe.

CHILE.

CHILE.

CHAPTER VIII.

VOYAGE ROUND CAPE HORN, AND RESIDENCE IN CHILE.

I TOOK my final departure from Rio Janeiro in the American brig Post Captain, burden 170 tons, on the 6th of January, 1822. A pleasant passage of twelve days brought us to the Falkland Islands: on the 23d we deviated from the usual course round Staten Land, to try the shorter passage through the Straights of Le Maire,—an attempt which proved unsuccessful; for the current ran so strongly against us, that, although aided by a five-knot breeze, we were unable to make headway, and ultimately returned to the usual course.

The sea in the Straight was violently agitated by the conflict between wind and current, and it was not without great difficulty and loss of time that the vessel became extricated from her perilous situation between two iron-bound coasts.

The neighbouring shore is mountainous and rugged, sloping in declivities towards the sea, or rising in peaks and precipices of rock; the whole presenting a scene of awful desolation.

January 27.—This day we passed to the southward of Cape Horn, but did not approach within sight of that celebrated head-land. The weather, which had before been remarkably fine, now suddenly changed, and a violent westerly gale obliged us to run down as far as the 60th degree of South latitude. During the ensuing week, the thermometer generally stood at 40° in the cabin, and upon deck it fell at times to the freezing point. In lat. 59° S., long. 69° 34′ W., we made some small islands of floating ice, covered with snow, and exhibiting a very brilliant appearance in the sun.

February 22.—After a very short passage of forty-five days from Rio Janeiro, we made the

land this morning, and came to anchor in the Bay of Valparayso about two o'clock. Two visits of inspection took place before we were permitted to land; one from the Custom-house officers, the other from the Captain of the port. The latter was dressed in a very smart blue uniform, and by his manners gave us a favorable opinion of the Chilean patriot officers. He examined our passports, and recommended us to present ourselves to the Governor as soon as possible. We then left the vessel, and were highly diverted by the novelty and bustle of the scene at the landing-place. The whole space between the beach and Custom-house was filled with goods and merchandize of various kinds—timber, boxes, iron-bars, barrels, bales, &c. —all exposed without any method or arrangement in the open street. Interspersed among them were a number of mules, some standing with loaded, others with unloaded paniers; while the drivers, called *peons*, dressed in the characteristic garb of the country, made the place ring with their noisy shouts. Here and there porters were busied in carrying away packages; boatmen stood ready to importune you

with incessant demands; and the large proportion of the group being soldiers, added greatly to the general effect. English and Americans, however, appeared to constitute the bulk of the population of the town; and so many naval officers, mates of merchantmen, sailors, and men of business, were every where seen, that, but for the mean and dirty appearance of the place, a stranger might almost fancy himself arrived at a British settlement.

We proceeded forthwith to the Government-house, a mean-looking edifice of small dimensions, and found that his Excellency was then sleeping his *sesta*, and could not be disturbed. Upon returning two hours afterwards, his aide-de-camp, or secretary, or some such official attendant, dressed in a loose linen jacket, with a cigar in his mouth, received us unceremoniously in his stead, and gave us permission to proceed to St. Jago.

Valparayso is a dirty sea-port, composed of small mud houses seldom more than one story high, and situate on the declivity of a hill which slopes gradually towards the sea. The country around is barren, or at least very little ornamented by

vegetation; and whether viewed near or at a distance the appearance of the place is equally unattractive. How a name, which literally signifies "*Paradise Vale,*" could be applied to it, is not very obvious, except on the supposition that, as the approach to it was originally made by the first Spanish settlers from the interior, the bay and adjacent ocean, on descending from the high lands, appeared to them, as the prospect really is at that point of view, peculiarly beautiful. The population of Valparayso does not at most exceed five thousand souls, of which the greater part, with the exception of a few official personages, belong to the second-rate and lower classes of inhabitants. Some respectable English and American merchants have houses of business at this place, but reside principally at St. Jago, the capital of Chile.

Having delivered my letters of introduction, and paid a visit to some friends, I determined to proceed without loss of time to St. Jago; and at six o'clock in the evening left Valparayso, in company with my friend ————, a Portuguese gentleman. The usual mode of travelling in this country is on horseback; for which purpose post

saddle-horses are kept by persons who supply at the same time a *peon*, to serve as guide, guard, and servant on the road. The horses are changed every ten or fifteen miles, and are accustomed to gallop the whole distance if required; so that the rate of travelling, for those who can endure the fatigue, is from ten to twelve miles an hour.

The danger of robbery being considered as great, it is therefore customary to travel well armed: the presence of a *peon* is, however, the best protection; for although most of this class of people are, it is said, lawless plunderers, and even murderers, without much fear of God or man before their eyes, yet they possess the virtue of fidelity to their employers, and may on these occasions be trusted to with the greatest confidence. Their ferocious and unsettled habits of life have been much increased by the disturbed state of the country during the war of the revolution; and the defective administration of public justice, which still disgraces the Government, encourages rather than checks the growth and continuance of the evil.

These *peons* may be said to live on horseback. Their costume is nearly the same in all parts of Spanish South America. Over a common jacket and pair of trowsers they wear a garment manufactured in the country, and in Chile called a *poncho*. It is made of strongly woven cloth, striped and variegated with different colours. The usual dimensions are from six to eight feet square, a small aperture being made in the middle of it sufficiently large to admit the head; it hangs loose from the shoulders, when put on, like a blanket, and effectually protects the whole body from rain or cold. Black cloth gaiters are buttoned over the trowsers as high as the knee, and a huge clumsy pair of spurs, with rowels that bruise instead of pricking the horse, are attached to the heel. A large high-peaked Spanish saddle covers the whole back of the horse, which being wrapped round with a number of cloths, thus conveys a convenient sort of travelling bed for the use of the rider whenever he may choose to sleep. Attached to the saddle is the *lazo*, an instrument of which the use is now too well known to require a very long description.

It is simply a leathern thong, from thirty to fifty feet in length, strong enough to endure the most violent jerk without breaking; one end of it is fastened to the saddle, and at the other is a slip-knot, and the *lazo*, thus arranged, is held conveniently folded up in the hand of the *peon* ready for use. This is thrown with such dexterity and precision at the animal intended to be caught, as to entangle it in the slip-knot, and render escape impossible. Herdsmen make most use of it in catching cattle; and the strongest bull, when thus caught at full speed, is laid prostrate on the ground by the violence of the jerk. In this manner it is said an unfortunate traveller is sometimes dragged from his horse by one of these *peons*, who lies in wait for him on the road-side, and who, with the long pointed knife, which is as necessary an appendage to a South American as the stiletto is to an Italian, soon terminates the struggles of the victim.

Upon leaving Valparayso, the country through which we passed was the most desolate and dreary that I had yet seen in South America. No trees,

no cultivation; only downs covered occasionally with furze and bushes lasted for a distance of thirty miles, in which, with the exception of one solitary post-house, no signs of any habitations were to be seen. At last we reached Casa Blanca, a small village with a decent inn, ten leagues distant from the port, where we stopped to pass the night.

March 25.—At daybreak we again started, and arrived in the afternoon at St. Jago, having travelled twenty leagues, or sixty miles, this day. The whole distance from the port to the city is ninety miles. The road throughout is good, and made with great care and labour over two very steep hills, which lie in the way to St. Jago. It was completed by Don Ambrosio O'Higgins, formerly Captain-general of Chile, and father of the present Director. Upon attaining the summit of the *Cuesta de Prado*, a magnificent and truly sublime view burst suddenly upon us. At our feet lay an extensive valley, embosomed amid precipitous rocks and hills, while the Cordillera de los Andes, with their snowy summits,

majestically bounded the horizon, and rose pile above pile in all the grandeur with which fame has invested them.

The effect produced by natural causes upon the mind of a traveller, who for the first time contemplates these stupendous mountains, can be but faintly conveyed by his pen to the imagination of his reader; yet there are moral and political associations connected therewith, which may impart an interest to them independent of all description, as well in the closet as on the spot; and who, when thinking of the Andes of South America, does not revert at the same time to the hidden treasures which they contain, and to the influence which these have had over the destinies of the adjacent regions?

From the first discovery of Chile by Almagro, the companion of Pizarro, in the year 1537, and its colonization by Valdivia in 1541, up to the present day, the mines of the Chilean Mountains appear always in historical connexion with the events that have there taken place. To the search made after them, Chile owed its discovery by the Spaniards; hence the aboriginal inhabitants were

either altogether cut off, or driven away by violence from their own rightful territory: hence a new race of people were here established, and the country made part of the dominions of a distant European potentate: hence, lastly, arose the war of the revolution, and the subsequent birth of a new nation formed into an independent state. Liberty and patriotism have indeed been the cry of one party, and loyalty and religion of the other; but it requires no great penetration, to discover that the possession of the wealth of the country has ever been the leading object of both.

When, therefore, the English traveller compares the rich mountains of South America with the barren hills of Great Britain, however much the former may at first sight appear to offer to the cupidity of man, the corresponding evils which past history proves them to have caused to their several possessors, afford matter of pity and painful interest rather than of envy.

Any recurrence, however, to his own native country hence becomes doubly gratifying, and he unconsciously exclaims in the words of the Northern Minstrel—

" With gold and gems if Chilean mountains glow,
If bleak and barren Scotia's hills arise;
There plague and poison, lust and rapine grow,—
Here peaceful are the vales, and pure the sky,
And freedom fires the soul, and sparkles in the eye!!"

The city of St. Jago de Chile, is situate in an extensive and fertile plain, considerably elevated above the level of the sea, and at the base of the Cordillera de los Andes, so that the view along many of the principal streets is terminated by the snow-clad summits of those mountains. The streets are all laid out, as in other Spanish American towns, at right angles, with a good pavement, and streams of water flowing down the middle of them. The houses are seldom more than one story high, as being less likely to be endangered by the frequent earthquakes which happen in this country than loftier buildings. They are built of earth, or rather of unbaked clay, white-washed, and painted in the Spanish style with different colours. Those belonging to the better class of people, have a spacious court-yard enclosed within a large portal, with a few steps which lead up to the entrance-door.

In the principal square, for there are several,

stand the Government House and the Cathedral. The former is a spacious and rather a handsome edifice, and occupies one entire side of the square. Here his Excellency the Director of the Republic, Don Bernardo O'Higgins, resides, with other members of the Government, and here also are the public offices. On the walls in front, the word "*Libertād*" is emblazoned in large letters, with an inscription purporting that the edifice was finished upon the establishment of Chilean independence in 1818. Another part is employed as a prison, with an appropriate motto over the entrance-door,— thus rendered into English, "Hate the offence, but pity the offender."

The Cathedral occupies another side of the same square, but being in an unfinished state, without tower or steeple, is not very ornamental. The two remaining sides present a mean and inconsistent appearance, being occupied by small shops with a piazza in front, where spurs, bridles, *ponchos*, hats, and all sorts of jewellery and hardware, are exposed for sale. Immediately behind the Government House, rise the towers of a large church belonging to one of the many convents

which abound in St. Jago, and add greatly to the embellishment of the city.

The convents, however, have suffered by the revolution, notwithstanding the prevailing respect of the people for religion, and the influence which the priests still possess over their minds. The monks have in many instances been dispossessed, and several convents united into one, the monastic edifices being appropriated to the service of Government, and used as barracks, depôts, &c.

The ancient College of the Jesuits is now the Custom-house, and having been lately refitted, makes a good appearance. Here the muleteers, on their first arrival from the port or interior of the country, are obliged to deposit their loads and submit them for inspection.

The *Caso do Exercicio*, in another part of the town, has been lately converted into an hospital. It was, as the name implies, a house of correction, to which devout people of both sexes voluntarily retired during the season of Lent, for a certain number of days, to do penance, and atone by mortification, &c., for the offences of the past year.

The Theatre, a small and low building near the

Custom-house, is of the worst possible description, and the performance too absurd to be tolerated in a petty provincial town of England. It being the season of Lent during my visit, none but sacred dramas were allowed to be acted; and one of those I saw was founded on the story of David and Absalom, which might, from its folly, have been represented with greater propriety before the Monk of Misrule and Abbot of Unreason, during the days of Saturnalian license sanctioned in some places by the Roman Catholic clergy. The Director O'Higgins was present with his female relations in the stage-box, but no particular marks of attention or otherwise were shown him by the audience.

In another quarter of the town I visited the public press, for one only is to be found in St. Jago. Under the same roof is a school for mutual instruction according to the Lancasterian plan, and patronized by the Society in London. They deputed a Mr. Thomson, with proper assistants, some time ago, to establish schools throughout the Continent of South America, beginning at Buenos Ayres, and going on to Chile and Peru: his endea-

vours have hitherto been successful in Buenos Ayres and in Chile, under the encouragement of their respective Governments. Upwards of three hundred day-scholars now attend the school at St. Jago. Two additional schools are about to be opened, on the same general plan,—one for boys, the other for girls; combining, however, with the Lancasterian method of instruction, the inculcation of the Roman Catholic religion.

Arrangements are also making for the establishment of this system of education in other parts of the country; so that the gradual diffusion of elementary knowledge may from this time forth be confidently anticipated. It must be confessed, however, that the Chilean people in this respect will require a long space of time before good results can be sensibly felt among themselves, or made apparent to foreign nations.

The style in which the annexed documents are written, and the mode of their insertion in the *National Gazette* by the legislators of the country, afford a fair specimen of the views entertained on the subject by Government, and of the proficiency made by a young Collegian, if not

in scholarship, at least in the arts of patriotic eulogy; for a boy of thirteen, however, if made by himself, the latter article certainly is a creditable composition.

MINISTERIAL GAZETTE OF CHILE.

Santiago, 19th January, 1822.

"It being acknowledged that the best and most secure means of giving happiness to a people is to render them distinguished and industrious, and, as a term is now given to the obstacles which have hitherto repressed in Chile the aptitude of her natives to enjoy the advantages obtained, with fewer opportunities, by the nations who have preceded us, in the liberty of cultivating literature and the arts, it becomes necessary to strain every nerve, in order to recover the time lost in indolence and darkness, by endeavouring to open to all, without exception of quality, fortune, sex, or age, the door of intellectual light.

"The Lancasterian system of mutual instruction established in most parts of the civilized world, and to which many nations owe the improvement

of their manners and habits of life, has made a commencement among us with that degree of acceptance which predicts its beneficial effects, and requires its propagation as the sure means of extirpating the causes of our national decline.

" The Government is anxious to encourage this system, and hopes to realise its wishes by associating together persons who unite, with corresponding sentiments of approval, the activity, zeal, and attention, which the importance of the subject demands. In all places it prospers, and is extended through the medium of societies—a circumstance which is sufficient to induce us to follow the example, and which decides me in establishing a Lancasterian Society here. I constitute myself Protector, and first individual of it. My Prime Minister and Secretary of State for the Home Department shall be its President, and his colleagues shall be, the Attorney-General of the city, the Protector of the Schools appointed by the City, and the Rector of the National Institute. The other members shall be elected forthwith by the Society itself. To make a beginning, I nomi-

nate the Brigadier-General, D. Joaquin Prieto, &c. &c.

" Its sessions shall be held in the Cabinet of the National School, on suitable days, without other rules of etiquette or precedency than those which politeness dictates. The regulations shall be made and submitted for my approval. The Society shall take from its own body, or elsewhere, a Secretary, Auditor, and Treasurer.

" The objects in view are—

" 1. To afford the means of instruction to all ranks, and especially to the industrious poor, who compose the largest class of inhabitants.

" 2. To ascertain what progress may have been made in the science and method of education.

" 3. To open such new resources as may be appropriate to our necessities and situation.

" Finally, this Society will organize and regulate the operations of a system, as desirable for its magnitude and efficacy as for the immense extension of which it is susceptible.

" O'HIGGINS.—TORRES."

NATIONAL INSTITUTE.

Discourse of Don Joseph Antonio Argamedo, thirteen years of age, at his Examination on Natural Law.

"GENTLEMEN,

"To whom can I dedicate these rude first fruits of my literary studies more appropriately than to the tribunal entrusted with the care of public education? It holds over us the same right that the Archons held in Athens, to require proofs of our having made a proficiency corresponding to its noble designs, and as the magistrates appointed at Sparta to impress purity of morals upon the mind at a tender age. Yes; true fathers of youth, you have understood, with all the sages who have meditated on the art of government, that the fate of States depends on the instruction in learning and virtue imparted during the early years of life.

The glorious epoch of the valiant O'Higgins is not more signalized by the victories with which

he has secured the independence of our country, than by the triumph of the lights, buried by gloomy tyranny under the oppressive designs which served as tombstones to the grave of liberty. In the midst of the destructive influence of arms, wisdom raised her fortress, to be crowned by the hands of the young men educated under the shade of the sacred tree of Minerva, which you irrigate, O much respected teachers!

If I may be permitted to pride myself on the circumstance of my revered father having a seat on this honourable tribunal, I shall have to acknowledge an obligation, doubled by nature and reason, towards the author of my days, and the authors of my progress in learning, such as it is. Receive, then, this slight tribute of my gratitude, and prepare to enjoy that of all posterity, which will bless you as the founders of the precious nursery of the best institutions of Chile! And if we now felicitate ourselves on your distinguished merit, future generations will inscribe in the annals of the Lyceum, the list of the children of your labours.—*Corona senum filii, filiorum, gloria filiorum patres eorum.*"

The Mint is a handsome stone edifice of large dimensions, and would attract admiration in any European city. During our visit the coining apparatus was not at work; it is considered as the most complete in South America, but has never been so much employed at any period as those at the Mints of Lima and Potosi. The average annual amount of bullion coined in the Mint of St. Jago was stated to me at from 600 to 800,000 dollars; but I had no means of obtaining any documents to prove the accuracy of this statement. In the month of January, 1822, the official returns published in the Gazette of Chile state that coin and bullion to the value of 37,619 dollars were then actually in hand,—a sum singularly small in a country where the precious metals are found in their native state.

The river Maypocho, so called from the ancient Indian name of the surrounding country, passes through one extremity of the town, and during the rainy season is swelled to a considerable breadth. Over it is a stone bridge of eight arches. At some little distance, on the banks of the river, is the *Tajamar*, or wall, built to protect the city

from sudden inundations, and overshadowed by a fine avenue of trees. Here the gentry and *bourgeois* of the city walk and ride on horseback in the evenings of holidays, and enliven, by their characteristic national gaiety, a spot naturally agreeable and picturesque.

One of the most striking external features of St. Jago is the tranquillity and absence of all bustle during the busiest hours of the day, which makes it seem more like a provincial town than the capital of a large State. The port of Valparayso is, in fact, the place where all foreign business is transacted; and the conveyance of goods by means of mules, renders the inland traffic comparatively quiet. The ordinary hours of promenade are from seven till ten in the morning, and after sunset in the evening; the streets and shops are then filled with well-dressed females, officers and others, and the drums beating the *réveille*, or retreat, and soldiers relieving guard, throw some little life and bustle into the town: but during the midday heat nothing is to be seen or heard; the shops are shut, the inhabit-

ants keep within their houses, and the city of London, during church-hours on Sundays, is not more quiet and apparently deserted.

Carriages are very little used at any time, and by ladies only who have a great distance to go. The best and smartest are but rudely built, after the antique Spanish fashion. A clumsy vehicle is to be observed occasionally, which most nearly resembles an English bathing-machine, with door behind, and chairs or benches inside sufficiently capacious to accommodate a whole family at once. This is drawn by one mule, at a slow ambling pace, with a postilion equipped in a tawdry and old-fashioned livery.

We made two or three excursions to the neighbourhood of St. Jago, and were much pleased with the fertile beauties of the plain, while the Cordillera de los Andes presents at every point of view the same unvarying features of sublime natural grandeur. These mountains do not rise in all their height suddenly above the plain, but are composed of a number of ridges successively elevated each above the other, their highest summits

only being tipped with snow. They are not broken into peaks like the Alps, and therefore furnish less diversity of scenery; yet their huge massive forms, which seem like mountains hurled confusedly upon mountains, as if they were indeed "the fragments of an earlier world," give to the whole a peculiar effect, worthy of their stupendous height.

The plain of Maypo, celebrated in South American history for the battle fought there on the 5th of April, 1805, is not many miles distant from the city. There is at this place a hanging bridge of curious construction, made after an Indian model, of hides lashed together, and extending across from one bank of the river to the other.

The Salta de Agua, or Waterfall, lies in another direction, and is only remarkable for the beauty of the surrounding scenery. After scrambling with some difficulty up to the top of the hill, or rather headland, over which the said stream of water is precipitated, we were surprised at finding ourselves still apparently on the same plain, though on a higher level of it, where the road leads back to the city by an almost imperceptible descent.

We passed one large farmhouse *en route*, and observed vineyards in particular places, yet cultivation appeared by no means general; on the contrary, much less so than might reasonably be expected in the neighbourhood of the capital of the country.

CHAPTER IX.

VIEW OF SOCIETY AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS.—EXCURSION TO QUILLOTA.—DEPARTURE FROM CHILE.

We unfortunately arrived in Chile during the season of Lent, when all private parties and diversions are for the most part suspended. At other times scarcely an evening passes without some social *tertulia* or dance, where a stranger is welcomed with marked hospitality and attention. It is usual for the lady of the house to present him with a flower when he enters; and this little mark of favour is, of course, enhanced in value by the kind and captivating manner in which it is bestowed. The little I saw of society was generally agreeable, as far as gaiety, spirit, and affability can confer pleasure; but for refinement, taste, manners and conversation, for the display of brilliant

accomplishments or intellectual cultivation, the traveller must not look in Chile, nor indeed in any part of South America. The prevailing ignorance of all classes necessarily banishes every sort of social enjoyment beyond dancing, and music, and flirtation: music even is carried to a very moderate degree of perfection. To accompany the guitar with the voice, and play a few waltzes and country-dances on the piano, is sufficient to constitute an accomplished lady of fashion, who is expected to excel principally in Spanish or Spanish-American songs and airs. Books, whether of amusement or instruction, being never read, can never, of course, become the subject of conversation: with the exception of a few who are now beginning to speak French, the ladies, as yet, are unacquainted with any but their own native language.

The *Chilenas* have generally pretty faces, and are naturally pleasing; insomuch, that few travellers who have experienced the fascination of their charms have failed to bestow upon them a liberal meed of praise. The liberty denied by the Brazilians to their wives, is here enjoyed in its

fullest extent, without any apparent injury to the social charities of life. Among them marriages take place at a very early age; and depend principally, as in the mother-country, upon the choice of the parents, who always expect compliance with their own wishes.

In dress, the ladies of Chile imitate European fashions, which find their way out slowly through the medium of Rio Janeiro and Buenos Ayres—and thus the Spanish costume is falling more and more into disuse; while, for English chintzes and muslins, and French silks, which are imported in considerable quantities, there is, of course, an increasing demand. As yet, however, no regular French shops are to be found at St. Jago, as at Rio Janeiro; and but few Frenchmen are established in the country.

During our stay in the capital of Chile, my friend and I were comfortably boarded and lodged at a hotel kept by an Irishwoman, at the moderate expense of one dollar and a half a-day. We generally sat down twenty or thirty to dinner, at the table *d'hôte*, the party consisting chiefly of Patriot officers, naval and military, whose conversa-

tion was not ill calculated to throw light upon the political state of the country: some were natives, some Frenchmen and Germans, some Englishmen, some Americans.

Their sentiments were for the most part obviously dictated by self-interest: some loudly abusing the Government for not giving them pay and promotion equal to their expectations; others, who had been more fortunate, as violently declaiming in praise of liberty and patriotism. Many thought no epithet too opprobrious to be bestowed upon Lord Cochrane's character; others, again, extolled him to the skies as the greatest of heroes. In one thing the Englishmen present appeared all to agree,—namely, in expressing unqualified regret at having ever left their own country to enter into the Patriot service. Their health had been wasted, and their expectations, for the most part, disappointed: but, having gone so far, it was too late to recede, and they felt obliged to pursue their career in South America to the end.

It was interesting thus to witness on the spot the sentiments entertained by these soldiers of fortune towards the Government which they

served; and the staunchest friends of revolutions, after listening to the stories and circumstances detailed by the people most likely to know the truth, would have turned away in pity, to mourn rather than exult over the present fate of South America.

The Republican Government of Chile, at the time of my visit, consisted of a Director, five Senators, and three principal Ministers, who exercised at once the legislative and executive functions. Their power was in reality undefined, and of course absolute, the Director being general of the army, as well as chief magistrate of the nominal Republic. Their joint administration appeared generally unpopular among the thinking parts of the community; and, notwithstanding the high eulogiums bestowed upon themselves in the Gazette of Government, it was no easy matter to discover the beneficial operation of the liberal principles upon which they professed to act.

In the administration of justice, in the collection of the revenue, and in the appropriation of public offices or the exercise of civil functions, the abuses which had formerly characterized the

Spanish Colonial Government were still universally complained of and admitted to exist. The Director, O'Higgins, was considered a good-hearted man, and well-intentioned, but weak and unable to carry right measures into effect. He gave ready attention to complaints, and promised to redress the grievances brought under his cognizance, but seldom had influence or energy sufficient to fulfil the promises which he made. The existing state of things was, however, acknowledged to be only provisional, and the legislators of the country were said to be preparing to adopt, in reality, the representative system as promised in the original draught of the Constitution, by convoking a National Legislative Assembly; and yet, from the exercise of legislative functions by a people so ignorant, what likelihood is there that any great and immediate benefits will result?

Real power in such a country must be chiefly, if not solely, possessed by military chiefs and their partisans: and, after all, it is perhaps less likely to be abused by a comparatively enlightened few, than by an ignorant multitude. If the leaders of the day are men of spirit and ability, their Govern-

ment will partake more or less of the same character; and, by whatever name it may be designated, they will in reality be the life and main-spring of every political movement: but men like O'Higgins cannot, in unsettled times, remain very long at the head of affairs; and indeed, since these observations were first written, he has actually been obliged to retire, and give up his office and power to General Freire.

A new Constitution has been given to the country, which certainly looks well in print; but if another has been since substituted in its room, no person well acquainted with South American politics can feel much surprised. The best and principal parts of it are taken from the late Spanish Constitution as established by the Cortes; other parts, peculiar to Chile, must appear at the first glance altogether visionary, if not puerile, to an Englishman; such as the establishment of an Order of Civil Merit, in which every citizen must be enrolled before he can be admitted to the free exercise of his political rights, and the appointment of public censors to be entrusted with the guardianship of national morals.

The idea of making a provision for the growth of moral excellence in a State, is undoubtedly honourable to the projectors; but in the present state of the world, particularly of South America, it were vain to expect national improvement from the distribution of prizes and honorary distinctions among a people, as among schoolboys.

To judge of the advancement made by a country in literary and political knowledge, it is first necessary to know the state of the public press. In Chile, under the government of O'Higgins, it has long been declared free; yet either no one dares to take advantage of this professed liberty to deliver political opinions, or no one has the spirit and talent of a ready writer. I did hear, indeed, of one unfortunate German, who, good easy man! believed to the letter all the fine things that were said by the Government, of the existence and in praise of a free press, and who, to try the reality of its existence, undertook the publication of a political work. What was the consequence? His presses were seized, every copy of his work destroyed, and himself sent off by a summary process to the almost desert island of Juan Fernandez,

there to keep company with other State prisoners, and mourn over his blundering credulity.

Since that time, and up to the date of my visit, the Government has monopolized the press, and the *Gazetta del Gobierno*, which is written entirely under the direction of ministers, is the only periodical publication. The style of the articles in it is for the most part turgid and hyperbolical, and the Spaniards appear to have transmitted to their colonial descendants a double share of the rhodomontade which characterizes their own literary compositions.

Previous to my departure from Chile, it was necessary to obtain a passport, and for that purpose I waited upon one of the ministers. He was dressed in black, and decorated with a large star upon his coat; such insignia being, it seems, not less agreeable to the Republican Patriots of Spanish America, than to the friends of Royalty in Brazil. He received, and dismissed me after signing his name to my passport, with much formal solemnity of manner, and without asking any questions.

Late in the evening of the 5th of March, I re-

luctantly bade adieu to the capital of Chile, in company with my friend. We travelled on horseback all night by moonlight, and reached Valparayso the following morning, having been no more than ten hours on the road.

Upon our arrival, we found that the vessel in which we had taken our passage to Lima was unexpectedly detained; and the town of Valparayso being dull and comfortless, I hired a *peon* as guide, and made an excursion up the valley of Quillota, to the city of the same name about forty miles distant from Valparayso. The toil of ascending the heights, over which the road passes, was amply repaid by a delightful view, comprising the town, harbour, shipping, and whole adjacent coast: between fifty and sixty vessels were there seen, of all nations, and various sizes, from an American ship of the line to a little pilot-boat of thirty tons, which had lately dared to effect the once-dreaded passage round Cape Horn. Those under English and American colours were by far the most numerous; and among them the Franklin seventy-four and frigate Creole, respective flag-

ships of Commodore Stewart and Sir Thomas Hardy, lay as if in proud pre-eminence.

The first place to which we came was Viña de Mar, a large farmhouse belonging to an estate, where cattle are reared for sale and wheat and fruit cultivated: it has the reputation of being very productive. For the next twenty miles the country is open, and enlivened by occasional glimpses of the sea, but otherwise dreary, uncultivated, and uninhabited. Occasionally we met large droves of mules, with their attendant *peons*, whose wild appearance, and peculiar shouts, re-echoed as they went along the passes of the hills, were in character with the rough aspect of the scenery. I tried to enter into conversation with some of these people, but found them sullen and incommunicative, like the muleteers of Brazil. My own *peon*, indeed, was unwilling that I should court the society of strangers, and advised me to make the best of my way to the place of destination.

Such proofs of habitual fear and mistrust towards travellers, marked the times and country in a

striking manner; and when musing over the adventurous and unsettled mode of life led by these South American *peons*, I could not help comparing them to the people described by an eminent novelist, who during equally disturbed periods of Scotch history were the terror and scourge of their more civilized countrymen. To both the same words would with truth apply:

> "The good old rule
> Contenteth them—the simple plan,
> That they should take who have the power,
> And they should keep who can."

Through the valley of Quillota flows a river, which is divided into a number of different channels, and thus irrigates and fertilizes the neighbouring country. At the *embouchure* is a small village, named Concon, and the estate presented to Lord Cochrane by the Government as a remuneration for his services. It was, however, said to be unproductive and of little real value.

Our route lay up the river: after fording several of its channels, which at this season of the year are generally very shallow, we found ourselves on the skirts of a small wood, inter-

spersed with mud cottages. Here the scenery became picturesque; and, as we proceeded onwards, there appeared a succession of corn-fields where the harvest had just terminated. The crops had been blighted by heavy rains; and although Chile is considered as the granary of Peru, the annual supply of wheat this season was insufficient even for the home consumption. At the same time there was an unusual scarcity of other provisions, which induced the Government to lay a strict embargo upon all domestic produce, prohibiting its exportation until the market could be sufficiently well supplied by foreign ships.

From the road-side I had an opportunity of witnessing the mode of threshing adopted in Chile, and which is not uncommon in other southern countries. A circular plot of ground is cleared for the purpose, in the open fields, and encompassed by a wooden railing. Here the wheat is deposited as soon as cut, and scattered about in all directions: a number of horses, colts, and mules, are then turned loose

into the enclosure, and driven round and round about, until all the corn is by these means threshed out of the ear; it is then separated from the straw for the use of man, and the latter reserved, instead of hay, as fodder for the horses.

The country people hereabouts appeared poor and wretched, and dirty in their persons. The mud huts which they inhabit are of the worst description, and in the rainy season must be ill adapted to shelter them from the inclemencies of the weather. Such, however, is the general salubrity of the climate and productiveness of the soil, that a peasant can maintain himself and family with ease, and for a trifling sum live, if not in comfort, at least in a manner suitable to his wants and wishes.

The little town of Quillota is one of the prettiest I had seen in South America; its numerous church-towers, domes, and cupolas, giving at a distance an air of grandeur to it, the effect of which on a nearer view is destroyed by the rudeness of the architecture. The number of inhabitants cannot much exceed five thousand; their houses cover a large extent of ground,

and are generally interspersed with gardens and vineyards, and running streams of water, which enliven and beautify the whole place, so as really to give it the appearance of a *rus in urbe.*

We arrived at the hour of the *siesta*, when not a sound was to be heard, nor a person to be seen about the streets. A fanciful traveller might have imagined himself transported into the city of which we read in the Arabian Nights, where all the inhabitants were petrified; for no one could be found to direct us to a lodging, and we wandered about for a considerable time, until we at length found our way to the house of an Englishman, who gave us the accommodation we required.

In the evening I was introduced to several families, and passed some hours very pleasantly at their respective habitations. Upon entering a house I generally found the female inmates sitting in a circle round the door, on mats spread upon the floor, and enjoying the freshness of the evening air, as is usual in warm countries. The men were seldom to be met with, or, if at home, went on smoking their cigars without taking

much interest or sharing in the conversation. The ladies seem to live uncontrolled, and never fail to welcome strangers in the kindest manner: they feel, indeed, flattered by their visits, and are in general partial to their society. There was something of primitive simplicity in such an unceremonious reception which was truly pleasing. Some danced, notwithstanding it was the season of Lent; others played a few tunes on the spinet—an instrument in common use among them; others, again, accompanied the guitar with the voice, and many of their simple ballads were sung with a degree of taste and feeling which nature, and nature only, can inspire.

I asked for a patriotic song, and my request was soon complied with: but I immediately discovered that it was not an agreeable request; and was informed, on further inquiry, that the majority of inhabitants at this place had sided with the Royalists during the revolutionary troubles, and were now suffering the usual fate of unsuccessful partisans,—namely, poverty and oppression from the ruling powers. The estates of many

families had been confiscated, and the proprietors themselves either killed in battle, or imprisoned or shot as enemies to their country. The surviving female relations were, therefore, naturally unfriendly to the patriot cause and the existing Government; and being unable to judge on any higher grounds than those of a personal nature, they saw absolutely nothing to indemnify them for the loss of affluence, or to reconcile them to actual poverty. A very intelligent young woman drew so lively a picture of the prosperity and happiness of her native city, under the Spanish Government, and of the contrast afforded by the present state of things, in every sense, that I could not help joining heartily in her lamentations over the miseries of civil war.

To persons far away from the scene of action, the cause of liberty and patriotism throw around it a blaze of light, in which the evils that accompany its progress are almost entirely lost sight of by its admirers. Not so, however, to persons on the spot, whose minds and feelings are rather affected by the distressing circumstances

which fall immediately under view, or are told by the actual sufferers, than dazzled by the glare which fancy creates, in the contemplation of uncertain future blessings and schemes of political happiness.

The chief part of the following day was devoted to an excursion higher up the valley, whose fertility and natural beauties excited delight and admiration at every step. The heat of the sun was great; but the mildness, and elasticity, and fragrance of the air, were inexpressibly grateful to the senses, and reminded me of the delicious climate of Madeira, more than of any other that I had yet known.

From the summit of an eminence I could see the main body of the mountain-torrent foaming over its pebbly bed, while innumerable channels that branched out from the parent stream, some natural, others artificial, imparted fertility to the whole adjacent country. There, was extended a succession of luxuriant orchards, vineyards, gardens, meadows, and cultivated fields, "with gentle slopes and groves between," which afforded in abundance every kind of European fruit

and vegetable production. Embosomed amid the verdant foliage lay the towers and cupolas of Quillota, sparkling in the sunbeams, and "crowning," as it were, "the watery glade." Above all, the gigantic masses of the Cordilléra rose at airy distance in frowning majesty, and to the softer features of the landscape added those of sublimity and grandeur; so that a traveller who has seen the valley of Quillota, one among many such which abound in these favoured regions, will not wonder that Chile has been termed the garden—the Italy of America.

A second evening passed away still more agreeably than the first, in the society of my new acquaintance, whose manners, although unmarked by artificial elegance or polish, were naturally graceful, and always pleasing. Their minds were neither cultivated by education nor refined by taste; but they appeared ingenuous and lively, and inquired with much interest about England, and other foreign places, of which they had only heard.

Their ignorance on the commonest points of geography was peculiarly remarkable; and of

history they seemed to know absolutely nothing. They were inquisitive on the subject of religion, and, as bigoted Roman Catholics, felt a tender degree of compassion for us poor heretics; but when I named a few of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, and avowed my belief in them, they were quite astonished, and said that they had hitherto supposed a heretic to be little better than an infidel. Still, to marry an Englishman, unless he changed his religion, would be altogether inadmissible among them.

The personal appearance of the generality of the females was very prepossessing. Dark glossy hair, dark eyebrows, and piercing, speaking, black eyes, a complexion approaching to the brunette, and small irregular expressive features, formed the prevailing and characteristic style of beauty. In dress they did not evince great taste; and nothing in it struck me as peculiar to this part of the country; actual poverty forbade the use of costly personal ornaments.

I remained two days at Quillota and its neighbourhood, and reluctantly bade adieu to a spot which possessed so many and such powerful attrac-

tions. My visit had been one of unmixed pleasure; and my regret at its speedy termination was enhanced by the feeling which travellers are necessarily doomed often to experience,—namely, that it would, in all probability, never again be my fortune to return.

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CHAPTER X.

RESIDENCE IN LIMA.

On the 17th of March I embarked at Valparayso, in the English brig Pacific, for Lima. The regular winds that blow almost invariably from the southward along this coast, afforded us a quick and agreeable passage of ten days, and we anchored in the harbour of Callao on the evening of the 27th of March.

The first appearance of the Peruvian coast is rugged and mountainous. The island of St. Lorenzo, which was separated from the continent by the great earthquake of 1746, forms the southern boundary of the Bay, and is between two and three miles in circuit. The soil is mere sand,

interspersed with ridges of black rock. Successive ranges of mountains that vie with each other in magnificence diversify the main land; and on a very clear day the snowy summits of the Cordilléra are visible to the naked eye. The country in the immediate neighbourhood of the sea is low, and interspersed here and there with patches of verdure. The towers of Lima, on entering the harbour, give the idea of a large city: not so the appearance of Callao, which is a disgrace to the capital of Peru. The shipping in the harbour lay moored close along-shore, of which I counted sixty, principally English merchantmen. We had no sooner anchored than the Captain of the port, a smart young officer in the Buenos Ayrian uniform, came on board. His duty is to take a list of the passengers, inspect their passports, and report them to the Government, whose permit is requisite before leaving the ship. The delay of a day took place before this could be obtained; and we were accordingly obliged to pass the interval on board.

Friday, March 29.—The landing-place was guarded by sentinels; and the number of soldiers

and officers who stood loitering about, showed at once that we were in a garrison-town. Our baggage underwent a very slight examination at the Custom-house, and all my books were passed duty-free. The town of Callao is composed of a few hundred houses, small, dirty, and wretched; no persons of respectability reside there; the merchants merely keeping stores for the transaction of shipping business, and for the retail sale of goods. There is an inn, kept by an American, of the worst description. The castle is the only part of Callao which deserves particular notice. Let not the word castle be understood to mean a structure similar to those erected by our warlike ancestors in every part of Europe!—it is merely another name for fort, which occupies a considerable extent of ground, surrounded by thick walls, a moat, drawbridge, and batteries of great strength: spacious barracks, a chapel, and the governor's house, with some other necessary buildings, form a large square in the centre of the fortress. Beyond the farthest extremity of the town jets out into the sea a peninsula of land, where old Callao formerly stood, previous to the earthquake of 1746.

The ruins are still visible, and afford a striking memento of the awful visitations to which these regions are particularly subject.

It was painful, at the same time, to observe the remains of several hundred unfortunate soldiers who had been shot here during the war: many months they lay without interment, and literally afforded food to the fowls of the air, while the dreadful effluvia tainted the whole surrounding atmosphere, and was carried by the wind as far as the shipping in the harbour. Bones and bits of clothes, shoes, caps, &c., even now lay scattered about in melancholy confusion, and marked the character of the times. The whole scene was most horrifying; nor could it fail to give a most unfavourable idea of the state of things in this country, to observe that the rites of sepulture, which among the most barbarous people are observed with decency and respect, should in this Christian community be neglected, or denied altogether.

March 30.—In the morning, before breakfast, I rode to Lima, a distance rather less than eight miles from Callao, along an excellent road. On each side were fields of mandioc and maize, and

pasture-land, enclosed by mud walls, and occasionally cottages—the whole upon rather a small scale, the lands being neither naturally fertile, nor much cultivated by the inhabitants. On the way we met with a great number of loaded mules and asses, of a breed very inferior to that in Chile, attended by *peons* and other followers, whose *ponchos* and general costume are not dissimilar from those in Chile; the only difference being in the size of the straw hats, which are here universally worn with broader brims and higher crowns. They rode armed at all points, with cutlass, blunderbuss, and horse-pistols, besides the *cuchillo*, or knife, which is the favourite and common weapon. A fine avenue of trees leads up to the Peruvian metropolis; and at the entrance is an archway, once intended to be magnificent, where the dilapidated insignia of the crown of Spain appear to mark the now weak and dismembered state of the Spanish empire.

The streets of Lima were everywhere full of bustle, and swarming with people of all classes, colours, and professions. The very large proportion of negroes afforded the most striking point of

difference between this place and St. Jago; and it must be allowed that the contrast was much in favour of the latter city, except inasmuch as the spirit of trade—Lima being on the footing of a commercial metropolis—gave to it more appearance of life and animation. I was struck by the number of smart shops, abounding in French silks and jewellery, and British goods of every sort and description.

The houses, as well as the streets of Lima, are larger than those of St. Jago, but otherwise laid out and built on a similar plan. A stream of water flows through them all.

The public square is of large dimensions. Two sides are occupied by houses two stories high, with shops and a piazza in front. That which was the Viceroy's palace, and is now the Government-house, occupies the third side of the quadrangle, and the cathedral church the principal part of the south side. None of these buildings are remarkable for architectural design or for good taste, nor would be deemed worthy of notice in any part of Europe; though the cathedral

was certainly the finest church I had yet seen in South America.

Sunday, March 31.—I attended High Mass at the cathedral, and afterwards made a tour to some of the principal churches, of which there are said to be altogether not less than fifty-six, besides twenty-six chapels. The internal decoration, in its general character, is very rich and gaudy, especially that of the altarpieces. The value of the gold and silver ornaments, previous to the late revolutionary troubles, is believed to have been unusually great, but the chief part has now been appropriated to State purposes. A stranger, who would judge of the religious and moral condition of the inhabitants by the number of churches and the crowds who frequent them, might suppose that the Limanians were the most devout of human beings. It happens here, however, as in most countries where the forms and ceremonies of religion are multiplied beyond measure, that its real duties are too often neglected; and there are persons sufficiently wicked to insinuate, that the churches themselves are often used for appoint-

ments in various ways, and for purposes not purely devotional.

In the afternoon a church-procession took place in the public square, which was more absurd and got up in worse taste than any which it had ever before been my fortune to witness in Roman Catholic countries. The subject was Our Saviour's triumphant Entry into Jerusalem, and the way being strewed with branches of palm-trees, a waxen image intended to represent the Saviour was carried upon an ass, followed by images as large as life of the Apostles, and one of *Mater Dolorosa*, borne on men's shoulders. The persons officiating, and the numerous bystanders, presented altogether a motley and most extraordinary group: priests in rich sacerdotal vestments, friars of various orders—Franciscan, Benedictine, Dominican, and others, many of whose portly persons and ruddy countenances belied the austerity of their profession; men dressed up as nuns, with black veils and masks, selling little waxen images of the Virgin; women of all classes, appropriately dressed in the costume of the country—some with shawls and hats, others with the showy *saya* and black

silk *manto*, so put on as carefully to conceal the face and expose the person; blacks and mulattoes, male and female, and Indians, whose squalid hideous features bore no resemblance to the pictures which imagination is wont to draw of their ancestors, "the gentle children of the Sun;" loaded mules and asses, with their attendant *peons*, just arrived from the port; country creoles of both sexes on horseback, mounted and equipped, male and female both alike; carriages here termed *valençins*, made and painted in the Spanish fashion, and filled with smartly-dressed ladies, whose black servants and postilions were bedecked in the most tawdry liveries; cavaliers of all nations, and Patriot Officers in gay uniforms—some on foot, courting the attention of the fair beholders, others showing off the paces of their prancing steeds; venders of ice and *chicha*, a favourite Peruvian drink; beggars imploring alms in the name of the Virgin and all the saints of the Romish calendar;—these and other innumerable objects, during the time of the procession, and for some hours afterwards, all contributed to enliven and diversify the scene. Still the bustle

gave no interruption to the devotional part of the business; for at sun-set, when the *Ave Marias* are said, every voice was hushed upon the tolling of the church-bell, and every movement was instantaneously suspended until the hasty prayer to the *Angel of Heaven* was said, and the sign of the cross reverently made; when, as instantaneously, the same *hubbub* of voices, and universal bustle, again filled the assembly. It being a fine moonlight evening, the better classes of people continued till a late hour in the square, or under the piazzas, where the ladies sat in long rows upon chairs and benches provided for their accommodation. It may be supposed that it is on these occasions that the Limanian ladies display that talent at flirtation with the favoured few, for which their natural vivacity has, perhaps, not undeservedly given them the reputation.

The *saya* and *manto* are the principal peculiarities of the female dress. The latter is made of black silk; and, being attached to the waist, is brought over the head, and held by the hand in front, so as to allow one eye only, except on special occasions, to be visible. The former is a sort

FEMALES OF LIMA.

of outer garment, made of a thick elastic stuff, and fitted so close to the person as to exhibit the shape in a manner that would be considered indelicate elsewhere; a certain degree of wadding even is used to heighten the effect, and show off the beautifully slender waist to more advantage. The annexed drawing exhibits a lady dressed according to the national costume, and in the act of pulling back the *manto* to accost an acquaintance, who is dressed in another costume, most usually worn at night. The sash across the shoulders is the *Banda Patriotica*, as recently worn by some females in honour of the newly-established Patriot Government. The colour of the *saya* is settled according to individual taste,—brown being the most general—blue, pink, and green, the smartest and most fashionable colours. Females who wear this dress, with the *manto* drawn over the face, are termed *tapadas*. The freedom allowed by it is, I may almost say, unbounded: they live, in fact, when abroad, in a perpetual masquerade; nothing affording them more amusement than to deceive their acquaintance by passing themselves off as strangers, or to

watch their movements and listen to their conversation unobserved. At public places, and on occasions such as that above described, they permit any gentlemen of genteel exterior to address them and converse without previous introduction. They even stop at the windows of rooms on the ground-floor, and converse with or pay gentlemen visits in their own houses, two or three of them together; but in that case always without discovering themselves, and checking any attempt to remove the silken mask, which would indeed be immediately resented as an unpardonable insult.

April 1.—In the course of the morning my friend and I were introduced to his Excellency the Marquis Monteagudo, Minister of State and *Primum Mobile*, under General San Martin, of the existing Government. He speaks English well, and has the reputation of being a clever active man of business; but, like other South American republicans, is fond of power, and ready to exercise it in a manner less agreeable to others than to himself. He is a native of Buenos Ayres, and came to Lima with San Martin, whose

influence obtained him his present situation. He received us, when introduced by Mr. ———, the principal English merchant of the place, with much civility; and after asking a few questions about our motives in coming to Lima, the proposed length of our stay, &c., dismissed us with permission to remain as long as we might deem it expedient. It was afterwards necessary to notify ourselves to the Alcalde, or Magistrate of the quarter in which we lived, and pay twelve dollars for the privilege of residing in Lima six months. At the expiration of that time the permit and fee must be renewed.

April 2.—Rode out to the public baths. These are situated a mile and a half from the city, at the foot of a lofty hill, and, although of rude construction, are on an extensive scale, and very commodious. They consist of a long row of buildings with mud walls, and flat reeded roof, partitioned out into thirty different baths, through which passes a stream of water, supplied from a spring on the side of the adjoining hill. Each bath is about five feet in depth, and six feet square; there is, besides, a separate plunging-bath of very large di-

mensions, for the use of swimmers. The ladies of Lima resort to these baths in great numbers during the summer months, but at this season of the year seldom honour them with their presence.

This day an interesting ceremony took place at Callao, namely, that of hoisting the Patriot standard on board the *ci-devant* Spanish frigate Prueva. Her capture a few days since was a matter of importance to the Patriot cause. She, together with the Venganza, a fine ship of the same calibre, had been long hovering about the coast; and at length, partly through distress, partly through fear of capture by Lord Cochrane, whose very name inspired terror among the Spaniards, they were surrendered by their respective commanders to the newly Independent Government of Guyaquil, from which, in consequence of some misunderstanding, the Prueva again stood out to sea, and was brought by her commander into the port of Lima as an offering to San Martin.

April 4.—This day the churches were again all crowded, and a grand military mass performed in the cathedral. Torre Tagles, the *Supremo Delegado*, or head of the Provisional Government,

Tomás Guido, the Minister of War, Monteagudo, and all the other great officers of State, were present, and then walked in procession, surrounded by a guard of honour, to the Government House. They were dressed in red uniforms, and decorated with the insignia of the Order of the Sun,—an Order which has been lately created by San Martin, and named after the supposed tutelary deity of the ancient Incas of Peru.

It is curious to observe, even in these slight matters, the changes which have taken place in national customs and opinions. Nearly 300 years have elapsed since the empire of the Incas fell beneath the Spanish arms, and almost every memorial of their ancient dominion, except that which history preserves, has been destroyed by the unsparing hand of time; yet now, after so long an interval, the favorite emblem of the Peruvian Indians is actually worn as the highest badge of honour by the descendants of their conquerors; and every device by which the name of Spain may be debased, and that of Peru exalted, is sought for with avidity and turned to political account by the rulers of the present day.

April 6.—The arrival of a post from Guayaquil brought word that Lord Cochrane was at that port, urging the surrender of the Spanish frigate Venganza to the Chilean Government. His applications were however disregarded, and the spirit evinced by both parties on the occasion showed how much selfish jealousy and dissension will ever prevail among small independent States remotely situate from each other, though otherwise naturally united by the ties of political interest.

I rode a few miles out of the city along the grand route to Cusco, and observed a number of gardens and orchards, whose verdant foliage afforded a very delightful appearance. Onwards, the country became dreary and generally uninviting, grass-fields alone exhibiting any signs of vegetation: how different were these fields from the rich pastures of Old England! I should have altogether fancied myself in the desart of Atacama, which divides Chile from Peru, rather than in the celebrated vale of Rimac. The soil consisted of sand and flint, and the circumjacent hills bear a rocky and equally barren aspect. Neither

man nor beast was for a long time to be seen or heard; until at length I was met on the road by a farmer, dressed of course in the *poncho*, and armed at all points, who, as he galloped past, had more the air of a leader of banditti than of a tiller of the soil. Presently I came to a farm-house—a low and ugly, but extensive mud building, which had once been painted with various colours. It now served only to make desolation appear more desolate, being in a dilapidated state, and tenanted by none but miserable female slaves and their equally miserable superintendent. Upon inquiry, I learnt that the male negroes and cattle belonging to the farm had been appropriated to the service of the State, and now composed part of, or were otherwise attached to, the Patriot army. The estate itself belongs to a convent of friars in Lima.

Here and there, at some little distance from the road, the ruins of ancient Indian tumuli were observable, whose thick mud walls and massive fragments had stood against the ravages of time. These interesting relics of another age and nation carried back the imagination with

them to the times when Spanish violence and cruelty were unknown, and the native possessors of the soil lived upon its produce in peace and security. How different a scene would Peru have then presented to the observation of a traveller! Instead of lamenting the miseries and tracing the desolating influence of revolutionary warfare, he might have viewed a numerous and happy though simple people; removed alike from savage barbarism and refined luxury, yet industrious and obedient subjects!

April 8.—I rode to La Magdalena, a small village about five miles distant from the town, where the Protector, General San Martin, has a country-house and principally resides. He had given a dinner and entertainment that day, and afterwards a bull-fight. The bulls were turned loose into the avenue adjoining the Protector's house, and attacked by men both on foot and horseback, whose dexterity in evading the fury of the animals, and whose violent defence, excited extraordinary interest and admiration among the bystanders. This was, however, rather a bull-bait than a bull-fight; the bulls being reserved for another entertainment

by their tormentors. To me, the only pleasure afforded by the spectacle arose from the view of the large and motley assemblage of country-people whom it collected together, all, or nearly all, mounted on horseback. Both sexes rode astraddle and were dressed alike, the men being as well armed with pistols and blunderbusses, sabres and knives, as if they were about to march against the Spaniards. It seemed to me like a revival of the feudal times, when, even in England, a similar festival would have been attended in a somewhat similar manner. But here were no retainers of warlike barons; all were free and independent yeomanry—free and independent, at least, in their own estimation: and "*Vive la libertad! vive la patria!*" was the general cry.

The females formed the most interesting group, and by the help of the annexed print some idea may be formed of the wives and daughters of Peruvian farmers equipped in the riding costume. It was indeed a novel and curious sight, to see such a figure, with round black hat, and *poncho* falling gracefully from the neck and shoulders and reaching down over the knees in loose drapery, so as

to conceal the large high-peaked Spanish saddle. The satin shoes and worked silk stockings set off a beautiful foot and ankle, which the finest English lady might think herself fortunate to possess; the tip resting in an enormous wooden stirrup several inches square, carved, and embossed with silver mountings. This, and the massive silver spurs of large dimensions, serve perhaps as a foil to the smallness and delicay of the foot.

April 9.—Being very desirous of visiting the mines of Pasco, which are commonly reputed to be the richest in Peru, I was taken by an acquaintance to visit an old Peruvian gentleman who had formerly held an official situation at Pasco, and stood at one time high in the favour of Pezuela the late Viceroy. This circumstance, of course, was enough to render him odious to the existing Government, and he therefore lived in the greatest possible privacy, so as to avoid giving any unnecessary umbrage. He received me in the affable and kind manner which universally distinguishes the creoles of Spanish America, and promised to give me serviceable letters of introduction

in case I should prosecute my intended journey. At the same time he, in common with my other friends, represented such a journey as very perilous, since the Spanish army was in the neighbourhood of Pasco, and the whole country in arms either for the cause of the Royalists or Patriots. Into the hands of whichever party a traveller might fall, his life would be endangered, since revolutionary soldiers are ever ready to commit deeds of violence; and among the Spaniards, an Englishman's name alone would be likely to secure his ill-treatment. To the English, in fact, under Lord Cochrane, the Patriots are chiefly indebted for their success in Peru; and it is not surprising, therefore, that the partisans of the sinking cause should look upon them with an evil eye.

With regard to the mines themselves, at such an unpropitious season little or nothing could be seen. They were no longer worked, and were inundated with water, which could only be removed by the help of machinery. Steam apparatus had been imported at an enormous expense for that purpose by one of the principal proprietors, under the old Spanish Government; but before it could be brought

effectually into use, the invasion of the country by San Martin and the Liberating army took place, and the war of the revolution had since then put a stop to mining as well as all other operations. Under these circumstances, I was reluctantly compelled to give up the projected visit to Pasco, and cannot speak of the mines from personal observation; but the ex-Superintendant, and all other well-informed persons with whom I conversed on the subject in Lima, testified to their richness, and said that upon the return of peace they might, by good management and suitable machinery, be made wonderfully productive. What they have been, is clear from the researches of Humboldt, who states their returns as follows:—

	Ingots.	Marcs of Silver.
1792	1052	183,598
3	1325	234,943
4	1621	291,254
5	1550	279,622
6	1561	227,514
7	1340	242,949
8	1478	271,862
9	1237	228,356
1800	1198	281,481
1	914	237,453
Total of ten years	13276	2,479,014

The same author calculates the average annual produce in money at nearly two millions of piastres.

The Peruvian speculators were very sanguine in their expectations of success when the first steam-engines were imported, and hailed their arrival with transport as a national blessing. The subsequent failure of those hopes was caused by the revolution alone; and whenever the civil war and anarchy, which now check the progress of all industry and improvement, shall be succeeded by peaceful times and an enlightened Government, it is fair to presume, that the undertaking, if renewed again, will be really attended with success.

To return to my new acquaintance, the ex-Superintendant. He was an interesting old man, and seemed fond of literature, passing at present the greatest part of his time in study. He possessed a larger library than most persons in this country, consisting of Spanish and a few French authors. We conversed together for upwards of an hour on political subjects, during which he expatiated largely on the future advantages which would result from the Revolution to Peru and the other provinces of South America. Its temporary evils he was himself now doomed to experience; but, of course, had made up his mind

to bear them patiently, in the contemplation of the general good. In fact, under the name of liberty and patriotism, the existing Government exercised the most despotic power, and was obeyed more out of terror than love or true respect. A complete system of espionage was kept up; and, instead of conversing freely on political subjects with the spirit of republicans, the greatest caution and reserve were every where observable. Even in the houses of English merchants nothing like open discussion ever took place, and the boasted freedom of thought and speech which the Patriots had proclaimed was known, under their dominion, by name alone. Some unfortunate woman happened on one occasion, a few days before my arrival at Lima, to use her tongue with too great freedom, and, as was asserted, to speak disrespectfully of the *Patria;* she was forthwith informed against, taken up, and sent to prison, and then ignominiously exposed, with a bone in her mouth as a sort of gag, in the public square, to strike terror into the other inhabitants.

April 10.—I visited the public burying-ground, or Pantheon, as it is here called, a mile distant

from the city. It is very spacious, and extends to the banks of the river. At the entrance is a chapel, decorated with an image of Our Saviour in the Sepulchre, large as life, and so painted as to excite indescribable horror. The burial-ground is laid out with low walls, built in rows, and having a walk between them. In these are a succession of niches, where the bodies are deposited in quick-lime and speedily consumed. The bones are then collected together, and thrown into a charnel-house in the centre of the burial-ground: particular walls are appropriated to particular convents, hospitals, and families, and the remains of all are treated in the same careless and undistinguishing manner. English feelings cannot be easily reconciled to such a mode of burial; and the loathsome effluvia which polluted the whole atmosphere, was quite sufficient to prevent any lengthened meditations among the tombs.

Another offensive practice is very common, namely, that of bringing the bodies of poor people, whose friends cannot afford the expenses of a coffin and regular conveyance, and throwing them

unceremoniously over the walls of the cemetery, where they lie until the persons in attendance are prepared to bury them. In the morning a number of corpses may be often seen exposed to full view in this way, as if they were no better than dead dogs or cats.

This same evening I had the curiosity to follow a funeral procession into a church, where the body was to be deposited for the night, and then taken away by the undertakers, without farther ceremony, the next morning, to the above-mentioned burial-ground.* The coffin was open, and the body of an officer lay in it, equipped in full regimentals, with cocked hat, and eyes unclosed as if he were still alive: but the ghastly hue of death was there; and the sight of such an object, dimly made visible by the light of a few wax-candles, was too horrid to behold without disgust, nor ought to be mentioned, except as illustrative of the singular customs observed towards the dead in this country.

Half a mile beyond the Pantheon is a *chacra*, or country-house, belonging to an English gentleman who came to Peru with steam-engines in the time of the Spaniards, and now intends to

settle under the protection of the new Patriot Government. He was employed in constructing a cotton-mill at this place, to be turned by a water-wheel, and several English mechanics were now at work about it. The view from the windows of the dwelling-house, over a beautiful garden extending down to the side of the river, and open to the verdant *alamedas*, or public walks, and adjacent hills on the opposite banks, was prettier than any I had yet seen in the neighbourhood of Lima.

April 11, 12.—I rode to Callao. A report had been spread that General Tristan, with the Patriot troops under his command, had been defeated near Pisco, a sea-port town forty miles S. E. of Lima, and that the Royalists were advancing against the capital. All now was bustle, confusion, and alarm; officers and detachments might be seen galloping between the city and the port; the garrison of Callao was called out, and made active preparations for defence. A thousand different idle rumours were industriously circulated; parties of people met together at certain shops and public places to inquire and relate the news: the Royalists at heart began to pluck up courage;

the friends of the *Patria* grew more or less alarmed; and all awaited the confirmation of the news with eagerness and anxiety.

April 13.—General Tristan's defeat was now ascertained beyond doubt. He had been surprised during the night, near Ica, by General Canterac: 600 men were said to be killed, and the remainder dispersed; six field-pieces, some thousand stand of arms, and a large quantity of ammunition, were believed to have fallen into the enemy's hands, and the town of Pisco taken without resistance.

Such an unexpected disaster created a general panic and simultaneous movement of the public mind: its probable consequences were differently predicted according to the fears, hopes, wishes, and opinions of individuals. The Protector, who had before scarcely showed himself in public, was now frequently seen on horseback in the streets, with two attendant lancers; expresses were continually sent backwards and forwards between Callao and Lima: all, in short, breathed bustle and activity. In the *National Gazette* the affair was made but light of: the Patriots, it was stated, had "not been vanquished, but only dispersed;"

at the same time orders were issued to take the fifth of the slaves who still remained in the possession of individuals, 4000 horses, and all the mules that could be procured, for the service of the State, including even the horses and mules of foreigners who happened to be resident at the time at Lima.

April 14, *Sunday*.—In order to divert the public attention from unwelcome news, and to amuse the worthy citizens of Lima, a grand fête, intended to be given in commemoration of the surrender of the frigate Prueva, was allowed to proceed. At night the public square was illuminated, and fire-works given. At each extremity of the square were bands of military music; and in the middle was erected a transparent temple, on which were represented portraits of San Martin, Torre Tagle, and Monteagudo, with several allegorical devices coarsely painted. The houses were variously and ludicrously decorated according to the taste or ability of their owners; some with old carpets and pieces of tapestry hung upon the walls—others with looking-glasses, pictures of saints, and oil-lights in glass tumblers, instead of regular lamps, exhibit-

ed at the windows in honour of the occasion. The place was filled with company of high and low degree, and the contemplation of the future appeared soon lost in present merriment and festivity.

April 15.—This day the whole population of Lima and Callao was again on the *qui vive;* the troops were put in motion, and paraded through the streets, drums beating and colours flying, in all directions. At the Castle of Callao, in particular, preparations for defence continued to be made with vigour: an embargo was laid upon provisions, and every person found idling about the streets pressed at once into the service of Government; horses, saddles, arms, and other accoutrements, were seized wherever they could be found; and any private person seen riding on horseback was unceremoniously ordered to dismount and surrender his steed for the good of the State.

News now arrived of the advance of the Spanish army as far as Canete, only three days' march from Lima, whose force was said to consist of 6000 men. In cavalry they were much superior to the Patriot army, and Cantarac generally con-

sidered as a far more experienced and able commander than the Patriot general, although no person would have ventured even to whisper such an heterodox opinion. The loss of one battle might, for a time, seriously injure, if not ruin, the Patriot cause; for the existing Government had become in reality so unpopular, that a large proportion of the inhabitants, independent of the decided Royalists, would have hailed with pleasure the return of their old masters. It was given out, that, upon the expected approach of the enemy, the army would abandon Lima and defend Callao; in which case the persons of foreigners and heretics might be left at the mercy of the mob, and of the Spaniards. Those who had no property to defend determined, therefore, to take refuge in the shipping, and many of the merchants put all their specie, for safety, on board H. M. brig-of-war Alacrity, then lying in the harbour.

April 16.—Another anxious and busy day. A detachment of light dragoons, under the command of a gallant officer, a Frenchman in the service of the Patriots, was sent to watch the motions of the enemy and cause some diversion. Troops

continued to be levied, and an order appeared for the establishment of a city militia, and of volunteer companies. No business was to be transacted between the hours of seven and eight in the morning, when every citizen had to present himself under arms, and go through the discipline of the drill. Some supposed that an attempt would be made to embody foreigners into a company of militia, as had once been done on a similar occasion in Chile. The English merchants, however, volunteered a much more welcome and efficient measure,—that of raising a subscription of some thousand dollars for the assistance of the Government in its present exigencies, which, of course, was very thankfully accepted. Many of the native inhabitants also gave money and goods of various kinds, gratuitously, for the same important purposes, and always received a public acknowledgment of their patriotic offerings in the *Gazette*. Those, however, who did not make some such offerings of their own accord, were soon forced into it, and taught the meaning of compulsory volunteering.

April 17.—Early in the morning three different parties of Royalists were detected in the

attempt to escape and carry away arms and ammunition to the enemy, one of whom, after making a stout resistance, was at length overpowered and taken. Their plan was to pass the city-gates with hearses, pretending to follow a funeral; and the stratagem, though unsuccessful, was not deficient in ingenuity.

During the day two Spanish shopkeepers were apprehended on a charge of concealing spies, and a great number of females, whose enmity to the Patriots was well known, and who had actually committed some political imprudences, were quieted in the same summary way. Symptoms of disaffection became evidently more and more declared by overt acts: a Patriot officer of eminence was shot at by some unknown person while riding in the streets; and there either were, or the Government pretended there were, signs of an extensive plot, whose object was to excite a popular insurrection simultaneously with the arrival of the Spanish army. A proclamation was accordingly addressed to the Spaniards resident in Lima, prohibiting the use of weapons and walking-sticks, or of cloaks under which

arms might be concealed ; and likewise commanding them, on pain of death, to remain quietly in their houses after the *Ave Marias*. A heavy contribution was at the same time levied upon all who were able, or supposed to be able, to pay the penalty of their real or imputed political delinquencies.

I had the pleasure of dining with an English officer who commands a regiment in the Peruvian service, and holds a truly distinguished place in the list of South American commanders—having been actively and effectually engaged ever since the commencement of the struggle for independence. He took me to his *quartel*, or barracks, which were spacious, clean, and well-kept, and afforded accommodation for 600 men. The regiment was made up of Spanish creoles, Mestizoes, and native Peruvian Indians. Their appearance certainly did credit to the talents and discipline of their commander, and was shown off by their new blue uniforms to the best advantage. Many, however, were disabled by the *terçiana*, or fever and ague—a complaint very prevalent in Lima ; others were discontented and unwilling to

serve, declaring that they had been pressed into the army against their inclinations, and were averse to a military life. To keep so heterogeneous and perverse a set of men in tolerable discipline and order must have been a work of no trifling difficulty, and does honour to the skilful management of the commanding officer; but to me this little specimen, of a regiment admitted to be the finest in the Peruvian service, did not afford a very favourable idea of the revolutionary army. Fortunately, however, for the Patriot cause, the army of the Royalists is composed of similar materials, with the exception of a few old veterans; and, if we may be allowed to class the Buenos Ayrean and Chilean regiments with veteran troops, to which long service and good discipline gave them a sufficient claim, the two parties may now be considered to stand upon a nearly equal footing, in point at least of physical and military strength.

April 20.—By this time all danger of an attack from General Canterac and the Spanish army had passed away. They did not think fit, for reasons best known to themselves, to advance beyond Canete, and the city of Lima was thus again re-

stored to its wonted state of peace. Sad, however, at best, was that state for the inhabitants to bear, and melancholy for the traveller to witness. The miseries of revolutionary times were daily becoming more and more sensibly felt; and the blessings of liberty, which the Patriot Government loudly and exultingly proclaimed, had so many bitters mingled with their sweets, that they could be neither appreciated nor enjoyed.

The easy, peaceful, and luxurious existence which the people had led under the Spanish Viceroys, was now contrasted with the bustling, unsettled, and oppressive order of things established by a military autocrat; while the warlike preparations daily making, and which they were called upon to assist in promoting, created terror and alarm rather than confidence or satisfaction. The spirit of nationality and patriotic enthusiasm was unfelt, and the voice of public opinion, whenever it could be heard indirectly, and by whispers, was evidently dictated by private feeling instead of a desire to serve the public according to the views of the ruling party.

Nearly all the inhabitants had been more or

less injured in their fortunes; and it cannot appear surprising, that the Government which occasioned their misfortunes, and was unable to alleviate, if not remove them, should be unpopular, or have lost the transient popularity acquired by the first burst of success. Many who had before been opulent were now reduced to extreme indigence, their lands and mines yielding no revenue; and the current of trade, diverted from its ancient channel, having not yet found its natural level, was hardly available except to foreigners and large capitalists.

In the ruin of the opulent Spaniards, who had hitherto taken the lead, and indeed made a monopoly of the commerce as well as politics of the country, were involved crowds of native relations and dependents, who had lived upon their bounty in the time of their prosperous fortunes, and had now no resources left. The number of these was very great, and the dearness and scarcity of provisions rendered many families apprehensive of actual starvation. The few, who were fortunate enough still to possess some remaining property, deemed it prudent to live as if they possessed none; and with the wisest precautions, their

chances of retaining it were fearfully diminished in proportion to the exigencies and consequent rapacity of the Government.

The system of espionage, already alluded to, seemed to increase this danger, for informers found their trade too advantageous not to push it to its fullest extent; and the power thus acquired by individuals over each other, produced the natural consequences of fear, jealousy, and suspicion, to the dissolution of every social tie: servants, in particular, became objects of distrust; and a large proportion of negro slaves having been taken to serve in the armies, the remainder were proportionably raised in importance, and added, by the doubts entertained of their fidelity, and the encouragement given to their various malpractices, to the mass of public and domestic miseries of the masters.

Meantime all private parties and amusements were generally suspended, and little or no intercourse took place either among the inhabitants themselves, or between them and foreigners. Of the latter, many hundreds had flocked to Lima since its capture by the Patriots, in addition to those who had been previously established

there. This class included a large proportion of English merchants connected with some of the first mercantile firms in London and Liverpool; adventurers of all nations and professions, Patriot officers both Naval and Military, masters of ships and supercargoes, tradesmen, and medical men of different degrees, innumerable.

With respect to the medical profession, very little opening is presented for its professors either in Lima or in any other part of South America; for there seems to be a sort of prejudice against them, derived no doubt from the low estimation in which the healing art is held in the mother-country, and kept up by the inability of the inhabitants, through defective education, to draw the line between a Dr. Sangrado and the enlightened followers of a liberal and learned profession, such as that of medicine and surgery is esteemed to be in every part of Europe except Spain.

The prevailing feeling of all foreigners with whom I conversed, and particularly those of the medical class, who had come out to this country in the sanguine hope of expeditiously realizing fortunes, seemed to be that of disappointment.

The season of revolutionary war is, in fact, ill-adapted for the successful pursuit of gain by peaceful and legitimate methods; nor does the necessarily turbulent state of new-formed governments hold out the same inducements to foreign settlers and adventurers, which their own sanguine minds would at first sight lead them to suppose. Under one administration their persons and property may be protected, and their labours encouraged; under another, their acknowledged privileges may be arbitrarily taken away, and new laws substituted in the place of those which had first attracted them to the country.

The frequent repetition of such legislative changes is one of the evils most sensibly felt in countries thus unfortunately circumstanced; while the notorious corruption of some public officers, and the facilities afforded by these changes for the violation of their own enactments, is at the same time injurious to individuals and to the community at large. On the one hand, tacit encouragement is given to smuggling and other invasions of the law; on the other hand, the offending party becomes amenable for his acts to an authority

which, when he least expects it, may be exercised over him with unrelenting severity.

Numerous instances of this might be cited, and were the daily subjects of conversation among the English merchants in Chile and Peru. Several British and American vessels had been seized by Government, either for breaking blockades or for the act of smuggling. In most cases it is believed that the charges brought against their commanders were well grounded; in some they were decidedly frivolous: yet the fate of all depended more upon the degree of influence and bribery employed for their liberation, than upon the substantial merits of the case. The want of an accredited British commercial agent was, in consequence, at this time very severely felt, as the whole burthen of mediation between the State and individuals now devolved, from the necessity of the case, upon the acting naval commander alone, who might either feel himself unauthorised to exercise any discretionary power, or unwilling to take any responsibility upon himself, by supporting the pretensions of his countrymen in opposition to the existing authorities of the Government.

Thus it is, that neither the property nor even the persons of Englishmen can in truth be considered safe in these new revolutionary States, until some proper authority is established for the purpose of affording them protection. An act of violence may be prevented at the moment; but when a ship is actually sold, her papers destroyed, and the crew dispersed, it is no easy matter to inquire into the rights of the case, or to obtain suitable indemnification. It is evident, therefore, that a regular Consular establishment ought to be appointed by the British Government, and that, again, backed by a naval force of sufficient consideration to ensure prompt attention and respect to every reasonable demand that may be made in behalf of British subjects.

The distracted state of the country, and the vast number of wandering *peons* and banditti who infested the neighbourhood of Lima, rendered all distant excursions, and even short journeys, dangerous for a solitary traveller. Frequent robberies were committed on the road between the port and the city; and on one occasion some American gentlemen were stopped in a carriage,

at noon-day, and plundered within sight of the city-gates. Soldiers in disguise were often the offenders; and, in the absence of any efficient police, such atrocities were not only daily committed, but committed with impunity.

Owing to this cause I had few opportunities of visiting places of any note in the vicinity, and the town itself offered neither public buildings nor institutions of sufficient interest to merit much description. At length I was invited to join a party to visit the ruins of an ancient Indian town, some leagues distant from Lima; and, besides being well mounted and well armed, we formed with our servants so numerous a cavalcade that no danger from an attack could well be apprehended.

We started on the afternoon of Monday, April 20, and riding hard for three hours, put up for the night at a farm-house not far from the road-side. Our route lay up the Vale of Rimac, along the river of the same name, which passes through Lima, and in its course irrigates the whole adjoining territory. The viridity and freshness of the vegetation in the vicinity of its banks, and the many beautiful groves which chequered the land-

scape, afforded an agreeable contrast to the barren and rocky hills which surrounded us on every side. No signs, however, of cultivation or inhabitants had cheered the eye or gladdened the heart as we passed along, and the scenery was indebted for all its picturesque beauty and effect to the hand of Nature alone. Upon ascending the heights we caught a glimpse of the towers and cupolas of Lima, and of the distant ocean in the back-ground; and, having pursued our journey over the hills, and descended again into the valley, we reached the farm-house above mentioned about sunset.

Its situation was truly delightful, being sheltered on one side by a lofty hill, and on the other by a verdant grove, through which the river ran, and was seen meandering along the valley to a considerable distance. Within, all was desolate and melancholy: two or three half-starved mules, and some fowls, evinced that the place was not quite uninhabited; but neither owner nor servants made answer to our calling, until at last, on searching into an out-house, we discovered an old negro, who told us that his master was gone to Lima, and would not return for a considerable time,—an account which we immediately suspected

to be false, and therefore proceeded, partly by threats, partly by expostulations, to force him to some confession. He then told us that his master had been frightened at our approach, and lay concealed somewhere in the neighbourhood.

On our assuring him that we were peaceable travellers, and only desired shelter for the night, he at length went in search of the master, who now ventured to sally forth from his retreat, and with him came several negroes also. The countenance of the poor creature betrayed evident symptoms of extreme fright, for he trembled in every limb, when Colonel ———, whose regimental dress proclaimed his rank in the Patriot service, asked him the usual questions: "*Usted es Patriota ó Gódo?*"—"Are you a Patriot or Goth?* Say, then, *Viva la Patria!*" Having certified, with all due solemnity, that he was a true Patriot, and hated the Spaniards to the death, the Colonel quieted his fears, and assured him of his protection.

Perceiving that we were English, he became afterwards less reserved, and told us that the little which the Spaniards left him had been taken

* The Spaniards are called Goths in derision by the Peruvian Patriots, in allusion to their cruel method of carrying on the war.

away by the Patriot troops when they were quartered in his house, so that he had no great reason to be partial to either party. Bands of robbers, also, frequently came and took whatever they could lay their hands upon; to the truth of which his miserable establishment bore ample testimony.

His house was built of unbaked clay, one story high, and not incommodious in arrangement, but stripped of nearly all its furniture. Of provisions his store was completely bare, insomuch that had we not brought our own stock with us, we should have fared but poorly; as things were, however, we passed a merry evening, and slept soundly on chairs and tables until the morning, when we proceeded on our journey.

Having passed another farm, and a small village containing twenty or thirty miserable huts, we found ourselves in the midst of an open plain, at the farther extremity of which lay the ruins of the Indian town which formed the object of our excursion. Their appearance, both in point of extent and magnitude, far surpassed my most sanguine expectations. The spot of ground which they occupied was at least three quarters of a mile

in circumference, and was so thickly covered with masses of broken buildings, that we were obliged to dismount and satisfy our curiosity on foot. The walls consisted of earthen cement, such as is used by the Spaniards at this day, and to which long exposure in the rays of the sun had given the hardness and consistency of stone: some were ten or twelve feet high, and not less than four feet thick. The size of the buildings could be clearly made out, and open spaces between them from six to eight feet broad gave the idea of streets. Doors and windows, also, were to be distinguished; and the division of the houses into separate rooms, about twelve feet square, seemed pretty general. Each house had a vault beneath, in which were formerly deposited the mortal remains of its inhabitants, together with rude vessels of earthenware, and implements of war or husbandry.

These vaults are here termed *huacas;* and an English gentleman, not long since, received permission from the Spanish Government to open several of them, from which he made a valuable collection of Indian relics. Some of these vaults are larger and deeper than the

others: they are all, generally, excavated with much precision in the form of a sepulchral urn, to the depth of about four feet. One upon the side of a mound was of much greater dimensions, and admitted of my crawling into it upon my hands and feet, until I found myself in a complete cave, amidst human bones, pieces of rag, and broken remains of earthenware vessels, which as memorials, though frail and mouldering, of the primitive Peruvians, naturally excited a peculiar interest.

We were very desirous to ascertain the site of the Inca's Palace, and Temple of the Sun: but as our conclusions could only be drawn from the apparent magnitude of the buildings, and these were nearly all of equal magnitude, we might easily have been mistaken. In one place, undoubtedly, the ruins were upon a much larger scale, and appeared to be separated from the others by a wall, which, though broken down at intervals, and sometimes buried in the ground, was clearly a connected piece of masonry, and formed a considerable enclosure. Nothing, however, could be distinguished within its limits except massive frag-

ments of cement mixed with earth, so accumulated one upon the other, as to make an elevation of at least twenty feet.

In another part we were surprised at finding a plot of ground, about fifty yards in length by thirty in breadth, completely level and free from ruins; and this we conceived could not have been caused by any artificial means, but must have been originally set apart for and appropriated to some particular purpose, at the time when the city was inhabited: what that purpose was cannot now be ascertained, but it is not unlikely that it was attached to the Temple of the Sun; for the Spanish historian, and after him Robertson, makes mention of a large court at Caxamalca, where Pizarro and Atahualpa first met, on one side of which was the Inca's Palace, and on the other the Temple of the Sun, —a coincidence which gives great support to my crude supposition.

At some distance was a small hill, on which the marks of an ancient fortification were plainly discernible. Having with some difficulty scrambled to the top, we could trace the lines of circumvallation, consisting of several rows of walls, with

fosses between them, as if to guard the approach. The thickness and hardness of the cement, the vast masses which remained upon every part of the hill, both above and below, showed that it had been a place of considerable strength, and affording abundant protection against an enemy not acquainted with the use of artillery.

Johnson says, somewhere, that in contemplating an Indian town, his wonder would be most excited by reflecting that it had been built without the use of iron; and it is undoubtedly from similar considerations that we regard, as objects of curiosity, many things in themselves not otherwise remarkable: but the ruins of this ancient Peruvian town were also rendered peculiarly interesting by their association with a people over whose history all have wept, as well as by their real antiquity, and our ignorance of their history.

There were, in truth, no marble columns, no remains of architectural magnificence; and yet, when I viewed the massive fragments and enormous piles of cemented earth which lay scattered upon the plain—when I considered the extent, solidity, and apparently regular structure of

the fallen buildings,—they seemed invested with an air of rugged and uncertain grandeur, which affected the mind perhaps more sensibly than art's most celebrated trophies. All greatness is comparative; and when led to expect unusual magnificence, we raise our conceptions accordingly. But art has limits, and the imagination is unbounded; whence it happens that reality, for the most part, represents objects less wonderful than we had anticipated. Here my expectations had not been previously raised, and the scene conveyed only a general idea of vague unmeasured greatness, which assisted, rather than checked, the pleasing operations of fancy.

In the centre of the valley, and not far distant from the ruined city, ran the main body of the mountain-stream, whose melodious murmurs, as they were conveyed by the passing wind, cheered without disturbing the mournful solitude of nature. Its verdant banks, where haply

> "Once the garden smil'd,
> And still where many a rustic flow'r grows wild,"

appeared to invite, as in days of yore, the friendly hand of industry; and their beautiful verdure

formed a striking contrast to the savage barrenness of the surrounding hills. The willow and other trees afforded a lively and refreshing shade, and through them the waters might be seen at intervals winding their course along the valley, ere they lost themselves in airy distance. Above my head impended gigantic piles of broken rocks, of which a part had been already precipitated upon the plain. It was evident that some vast concussion of nature had formerly taken place here, and in all probability the town had been destroyed at the same time, as no mention is made of it in Spanish history. Mountains, of which I counted six distant chains, rose gradually above each other, until the distant and still loftier Cordilléra de los Andes finally bounded the horizon.

The morning sun had already made his appearance above their summits; and I could not help recurring to those far times when thousands, and tens of thousands, would probably have here been assembled to celebrate his progress through the heavens. What an interesting and tumultuous scene must then have been exhibited!—how different from the silent and deserted waste that

now lay before me! I already began to imagine I saw the city raised again from its ruins, and every successive spot, whither I turned my eye, awakened kindred associations. Upon the very hill where I sat, was perhaps a fortress filled with the deadly implements of war, and guarded by a band of chosen warriors, whose bows and arrows and feathered helmets distinguished them from the vulgar throng. Amidst yonder stupendous piles of rubbish, the Inca's Palace might have stood, where, encircled by the children of the Sun, he administered justice to his people with patriarchal yet dignified simplicity. There, too, like other Royal personages, he doubtless held many a Courtly revel; and at one time distributed prizes to the victors in gymnastic games; at another, viewed the stately war-dance, and listened to those who sang the praises of Manco-Capac and his other glorious ancestors.

Thence my eye glanced towards the plot of ground which fancy figured as having once been a spacious court belonging to the Temple of the Sun. There this simple people paid their homage to the host of heaven, and more especially

to that glorious luminary, whose vivifying rays are at once an emblem of Divine glory and benevolence. There the Sacred Virgins administered mistaken but inoffensive rites, and, as our Shakspeare says,

> "Religious in their ignorance, adored
> The Sun, that looks upon his worshippers,
> But knows of them no more!"

No senseless idols, however, polluted his shrine—no barbarous sacrifices were offered up—no human victims bled to appease the imaginary anger of an offended deity. There superstition assumed its mildest and purest form; and the spoils of war, the first-fruits of the field, or the choicest specimens of art and industry, were the only usual and acceptable offerings.

While indulging in such reveries, I suddenly found myself alone among the ruins, and was obliged to bid adieu to them with precipitation, and gallop after and rejoin my companions. We met no travellers nor droves of mules; we saw no labourers at work in the fields, nor birds, nor any living creature, as we passed along,—the want of which gave an air of dreary solitude to the country.

As we entered Lima, however, an agreeable and novel sight caught our observation: it was that of a troop of *llamas*, the Peruvian camels, under the escort of two or three Indians. Between twenty and thirty of these animals, each about four feet high, with neck and head erect, came stalking proudly and gracefully along the streets, loaded with the usual burthens. They carry packages weighing 40lbs., that being, I believe, the travelling allowance commonly allotted to them.

CHAPTER XI.

RESIDENCE IN LIMA CONTINUED.

April 25.—Made an excursion with a friend to Chorillos, a small village by the sea-side, about eight miles distant from the town. We left on our right the village of Mil-Flores, which had been an important military post during the siege of Lima. When compared with the surrounding waste, it may be said to be rather pretty. It contains about a hundred mud cottages, two churches, and a few deserted villas. In happier times it was much frequented by the Limanians as a convenient, though not very agreeable, place of country residence.

Chorillos may be called the Brighton of Lima, and during the summer months is filled with company who resort to it for the benefit of

sea-bathing. Unfortunately we paid our visit at the wrong season, and found no company in the place. The houses, to the number of two or three hundred, were inhabited for the most part, as I said, by Indian fishermen. It was difficult to conceive how ladies could be accommodated in such wretched dwellings; and although they bring their own furniture, every approach to comfort or delicate convenience, much less luxury, is absolutely wanting.

The Indians whom I saw presented no very interesting appearance, yet their condition is not worse than that of the lowest orders in most countries. They subsist on fish and maize, and the sugar-cane, of which there are some plantations in the neighbourhood. The men dress like the Spanish creoles, in the *poncho*, and the women wear a loose petticoat and shawl of thick woollen stuff, manufactured from the wool of the *llama*. Their jet-black hair is plaited with careful nicety, and falls down behind in a number of small ringlets, or, more correctly speaking, tails. They pay no attention to their persons, which are loathsome and dirty beyond description. Perhaps the

Coyas and Virgins of the Sun, being of higher rank and lineage, were possessed of greater personal attractions in ancient times; but if we may judge of the then Indian race by what we see of their posterity in these days, the beauty which has been so long celebrated throughout Europe must be altogether a poetic fiction.

The Peruvian countenance is marked with nearly the same features which characterise all Aboriginal Americans: small eyes, broad flat nose, high cheek-bones, black shaggy hair, and dark copper-coloured complexion. There seemed to me very little difference between these Indians and the Puris whom I had seen at Aldea da Pedra in Brazil, except that the latter appear evidently to be more civilized.

Immediately above the village is a lofty promontory which juts out a considerable way into the sea, and from its summit affords a magnificent view of the adjoining country. The remains of a fort and telegraph that had been formerly erected by the Spaniards are still to be seen there: I was surprised that they should have been demolished, as the place offered many facilities for smuggling.

The coast takes a beautiful sweep for about ten miles from the point of Callao and island of St. Lorenzo, so as to form the bay of Chorillos. The cliffs are high and rocky, and become gradually more elevated, until they join the lofty eminence above mentioned. Hence may be seen the vale of Rimac in nearly its whole extent, terminated by the distant towers and cupolas of Lima, above which the mountainous heights already so often mentioned rise in naked majesty. Mil-Flores, and a few other villages which had trees around them, together with some neighbouring sugar-plantations, were easily distinguishable; but the absence of all verdure and cultivation elsewhere, rendered the general aspect of the country dismal and melancholy.

It had been originally our intention to remain a few days in case we had found the place agreeable; but as the Indian society possessed no attractions, and the face of nature was very uninviting, we returned to Lima the same day.

Friday the 26th.—I rode to Callao, and on Saturday the 27th went on board the O'Higgins, an old forty-gun frigate, commanded by Lord Cochrane,

who had arrived from Guayaquil on the preceding Thursday. She appeared to be in a very bad condition, and was said to be so leaky that they could with difficulty keep her above water. Her crew was composed of Chileans, and sailors of all nations—English, American, French, Danes, Swedes, and others, whose characters and fortunes, and habits of life, in a great measure qualified them for the irregular and buccaneering sort of service in which they were engaged.

Lord Cochrane and San Martin were now declared enemies. Their quarrel originated in a difference of opinion as to the measures to be pursued for the reduction of Callao Castle: Lord Cochrane, with his characteristic bravery, wishing to carry the place by storm, or to compel the garrison to surrender at discretion; General San Martin, on the other hand, with his characteristic prudence and moderation, preferring capitulation without bloodshed. The opinion of the General prevailed on this occasion, and the result is thought to have shown that the opinion of the Admiral was founded on the soundest views of good policy; for though a certain degree of suc-

cess has followed the arms and policy of San Martin, and in the name of the *Patria* (a comprehensive term, which includes the whole or any particular part of South America, when once made independent of Spain,) he had taken possession of the capital of Peru, yet an opportunity was afforded by this temporizing plan to General Canterac, and a large body of Spanish troops, to escape from Callao, and to renew the war in the interior. Another disagreement soon afterwards took place in consequence of the refusal of San Martin to pay the Chilean fleet out of the funds obtained by him in Lima; and the seizure of a large sum of money at Ancon forcibly by Lord Cochrane, who thus took the law into his own hands, rendered the rupture complete.

The present object of Lord Cochrane in coming to Lima was to obtain possession of the Spanish frigate Prueva, which had been driven into port by himself, and surrendered to the Peruvian Government, at whose hands he now claimed her as his lawful prize. His claim was, however, by no means allowed, and vigorous preparations for defence were made in case of any attempt to seize

her by force of arms. The terror inspired on this occasion by the presence of Lord Cochrane was positively ludicrous, and the whole Castle of Callao was in commotion; but he did not proceed to extremities, and finally sailed away again to Guayaquil.

A sort of paper-war has since been carried on between the two rival commanders, into which it is far from my wish to enter; but, if their statements against each other are to be received as any thing more than the tirade of the angry moment, it would appear, that the warm eulogiums bestowed upon them by their respective friends and admirers will pass away among the political effusions of the day, and obtain no good place in the pages of history.

The stormy times of revolution are, in fact, ill calculated for the growth of public or private virtues, properly so called. The men who then take a lead, in war and in politics, are in general not the most just, the most humane, the most open-hearted, and most truly chivalrous spirits of the age. These soon retire in disgust from scenes where all the fierce and tumultuous passions of

the human breast are called into play, and where the names of liberty and patriotism are but too commonly used to palliate the mismanagement and promote the interested views of individuals. Great allowances must still be made for the difficulties against which public characters have in such times to contend, and the peculiar temptations to which they are exposed;—difficulties sometimes so great, that they can be surmounted by the strongest measures alone; and temptations so powerful, that the best-intentioned might, under similar circumstances, be hurried away into the commission of similar excesses. Instead, therefore, of taking a part in the jealousies and animosities of men like these distinguished officers, or considering as true to the letter all the foul and opprobrious epithets which they have thought fit to lavish on each other, it is sufficient for the impartial traveller to observe that such things are, and then to turn to the contemplation of their naval and military achievements, to which Peru certainly owes in a great degree her independence, and Spain the loss of her richest colonial possessions. Whatever may have been

their motives or intentions, while at the head of public affairs they undoubtedly deserve well at the hands of the Patriots for their able prosecution of the war against the armies of Ferdinand in South America. Their names will always stand recorded in connexion with the political independence of that continent; and when, on the one hand, the passionate bickerings of party-spirit shall be lulled, and, on the other, the meretricious glare thrown by the cant and enthusiasm of democratic politicians around revolutionary heroes shall have passed away, they will doubtless receive each his appropriate degree of praise from the unprejudiced historian.

April 29.—In the evening of this day I gladly retired from the tumult of the city to take a quiet ride, and ascended some of the heights in the immediate neighbourhood, from which the view, for extent and magnificence, cannot easily be surpassed—for extent, on one side, over the whole plain of Rimac to the Cordilléra de los Andes, and for magnificence, extending on the other side from the massive rocks which adorn the summit of the hill in prodigious grandeur, and on which I stood, over the towers and cupolas of Lima, the

Cathedral and Convent of St. Francisco, the river, the bridge, and *alamedas*, or public walks, on which the gleams of the setting sun shone at that time with peculiar lustre as far as the waters of the great Pacific Ocean.

May 2.—This was a busy and eventful day in Lima and Callao. At three o'clock in the morning bodies of armed soldiers, under the orders of Government, beset the houses of all the Spaniards, who, relying on the promises of protection made to them in the name of the new Government, on the capture of the city by the Patriot army, had ventured to continue in the country. They were now dragged out of their beds at a moment's warning, without being allowed to take even a change of linen with them. No fewer than six hundred individuals of all ranks were, it is said, torn thus violently from their afflicted families.

As a large proportion of these Spaniards had left the mother-country in early youth, they naturally looked upon Peru as their adopted country and chosen place of residence. There they had been married, had raised families of children, had established friendships and acquired property—all,

in short, that could sweeten life, or render the ordinary evils of it tolerable. The old and infirm, each strapped behind a soldier, were carried on horseback: the remainder, escorted by a strong guard, were marched on foot to Callao, to be embarked on board the Monteagudo, an old merchantship in the service of Government, and be hurried away by this violent and summary sort of process into banishment to Chile or some distant country, they knew not where—perhaps for ever! It was my misfortune to witness this horrifying embarkation. Many were quite outrageous in their grief at being thus unexpectedly forced to quit, for an indefinite period, their homes and families: some required actually to be pushed into the boats by the bayonets of the soldiery; others, more composed, but not less sorrowful at heart, vainly endeavoured to conceal the agony of their feelings; and those among the bystanders whose hearts were not harder than stone, could not refrain from dropping a sympathetic tear at the sight of so much misery. One old gentleman, in particular, excited deep commiseration; he was upwards of fourscore, and had been sixty

years in the country, during the last forty of which he had filled a high situation in the Custom-house department. He had for some time been allowed to retain his place under the Patriot Government; but neither his grey hairs, his numerous family, nor his acknowledged respectability, proved of any avail upon the present occasion, and he was forced to join the other victims of broken faith and treacherous cruelty.

Friday, the 3d.—Rode to Callao: heard that two Spaniards had already died on board the Monteagudo, and that the misery which prevailed there exceeded all belief. The decks above and below were so thickly crowded with the unfortunate wretches, that they could hardly move; and the stench and heat occasioned by such a multitude of persons herded together confusedly in a ship too small for their accommodation, was literally insupportable. Numbers were ready to expire with thirst, and kept crying out, in the name of every saint, for a drop of water. To add to the horror of the scene, boats full of women and children surrounded the ship on all sides, and filled the air with their lamentations, vainly imploring permission to em-

brace their husbands, friends, and relatives once more; but strict orders had been issued to admit no females, and, except by handing up baskets of refreshments, they had only the melancholy satisfaction, if it may be so called, of witnessing the wretchedness which they were not otherwise suffered to alleviate.

May 4.—On my return to Lima, I found the road between the port and city thronged with carriages, persons on horseback, and pedestrians; and, on entering the city, it is impossible to describe the sensation every where created by this violent public measure: the whole body of inhabitants seemed to be absorbed in grief, and terror alone prevented the open expression of their dissatisfaction and indignant feeling. Many having formerly shared the prosperous fortunes of the Spaniards were now the sharers of their ruin, and by one act reduced to a state of absolute want and beggary. Thus, therefore, the severity of the blow was most extensively felt, and fell less heavily, perhaps, in many cases, on the individual victims than on those whom they had left behind.

Under these circumstances, a sort of proclamation was issued, by way of comfort to the inhabitants, of which the following is a translation, and will explain the professed policy of the Government in assenting to, though it can never justify the extraordinary harshness of the manner of executing, the measure:—

GAZETTE OF GOVERNMENT.

May 4, 1822

"IT is long since Peru cried aloud for a solemn act of expiation, sufficient to satisfy, in some degree, the demands of that justice which has, during so great a length of time, been outraged with the most insolent impunity. It required, also, that the Government, which is responsible for the welfare of the people, should get rid of all who have been naturally instrumental to their past slavery, by banishing from our shores those Spaniards whose characters oppose all hope of reconciliation.

"With the exception of a small number of mo-

derate men, in whose minds a sense of rectitude has prevailed over the spirit of the nation to which they belong, the Spaniards who remain scattered throughout the whole extent of this continent are mere soldiers of fortune, always ready to make war, either in the field or cabinet, against the cause of the *Patria*, and against those who honourably sustain it. The plan of transporting out of Peru the majority of the Spaniards who remained here at the expense of Government, in the midst of its urgent distresses, satisfies at once the claims of justice and of humanity,—claims which have always so great an influence over the hearts of Americans.

" This is not a retaliation of injuries, (because, if it were, we should dip our hands in the blood of those who for three centuries have been dipping their hands in our blood;) but only, as we have before said, *an act of expiation*, and *a memorable example of sober vengeance*, which places us beyond the reach of the everlasting machinations of our most implacable enemies. We call to witness, on this occasion, the whole human race; and in their presence make bold to hope that justice will be

done as well to the policy as to the humanity of our Government.

"This is one of those resolutions, the salutary effects of which cannot at the moment be duly appreciated. Time and experience will bring to remembrance, more than once hereafter, the opportunity by which we have profited. Let reflections on the past regulate our calculations for the future. How often have we heard unseasonable exclamations of regret in America, as vehement as they were useless, because we did not expel the Spaniards at an earlier moment! The most peaceable, and apparently the weakest, have each in his turn become like burning firebrands in the midst of us. Without excepting their very children, parents, and benefactors, they have exhausted the rancour of their hatred upon us like the tiger, which, when tired of wandering hungry through the woods, falls at length upon its prey, and wreaks with double rage the whole torrent of its fury upon the unfortunate victim.

"Nor is this their only mode of doing us injury. When unable to throw away the mask, and act up to the spirit of their designs, they satisfy

their malignity by fomenting divisions in families, spreading unfavourable rumours, aggravating national misfortunes, throwing discredit upon the measures of Government, and destroying, in fact, the base of every social relation. The breast of each individual is like a volcano, emitting flames which, if they could have reached us, would have laid all America in ruin and ashes. Even now, the very remembrance of their ravages in times past fills our souls with anguish, when we contemplate the long protracted servitude imposed by them upon our native land.

"Away, then—away with every Spaniard from our shores! and would to God that they could carry away all their vices with them, leaving us the only virtue which they possess, namely, that of constancy, in return for the immense treasures which they have exported by the sacrifice of millions of innocent lives!

"Some, undoubtedly, leave families behind; but these are Americans by birth, and remain in the bosom of their mother-country, which is fertile in resources, and takes more interest in their welfare than can be expected from those who were

Spaniards by birth before they became parents. Let us labour to consolidate OUR INDEPENDENCE; and for the attainment of that grand object let us make every sacrifice. If the Spaniards then return to their right senses, and wish for a reconciliation, they will always find us TRUE AMERICANS. But, in the mean time, let them remember the injuries which they have done us, and let us not forget what we might still suffer beneath the yoke of those who recognise no other means of pacification than 'THE FLAMES.'"

The above proclamation seems to have been intended as a sort of practical answer to the address of Canterac to the inhabitants of Lima in February last, wherein he reminds them that *whole villages* had for *their obstinacy in adhering to the Patriots been delivered to the flames.**

"*Head-quarters, Huancayo, February* 15, 1822.

"INHABITANTS OF LIMA AND THE COAST,

"I know and feel for your situation. Your present rulers have been, and always will be, your only enemies. The army which I have the honour to command will be glad to bury the past in oblivion, and embrace you as friends, the very day when their valour restores to you the title of Citizens of a great nation, provided always your conduct be that of peaceable inhabitants. But if,

Thus the poor people, whichever side they espouse, are doomed to exemplify the truth of the poet's observation—

"Quicquid delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi."

The Royalists lay waste whole towns and villages with fire and sword—the Patriots retort by banishing from Lima all the Spanish inhabitants, and subjecting their persons to the most cruel indignities. So it happens in numberless other instances, until the war becomes a war of extermination, and the rights, lives, and property of individuals fall a prey to alternate anarchy, tyranny, and military rapine.

In the evening of the memorable 4th of May, the friends of Government got up an epilogue every way worthy of the tragedy which had just

blind to your true interests, you favour the designs of the Revolutionists, bear in mind the punishment lately inflicted upon the inhabitants of Huaguay, Chacapalpa, and others, WHOSE VILLAGES, IN RETURN FOR THEIR OBSTINACY, HAVE BEEN DELIVERED TO THE FLAMES.

"This army expects from you a line of conduct exceeding, if possible, its own in generosity. Such are the sentiments which actuate its members, and which are guaranteed by its General, who now subscribes himself,

"Your friend,

JOSÉ CANTERAC."

been represented. It was a procession in token of gratitude for the *solemn act of expiation*, and *sober example of vengeance*, made by the expulsion of the Spaniards from Peru.

About a dozen of notoriously dissolute females, dressed out with abundance of finery and national ribands, 'Orders of the Sun, &c. &c. led the way to the Palace of Government, preceded by a band of music, flags, and large wax-flambeaux: they were received in state by the *Supremo Delegado*, and read an address in the name of the *ladies* of Lima, which was answered with all due courtesy and respect by the great personage to whom it was addressed. It was, in fact, an empty vulgar exhibition, intended to delude and amuse the lower orders, producing no substantial good effect on the minds of any, but showing how easily nonsense, trick, and mummery, find their way into the remotest regions of the world.

Monday, the 6th.—Among the few public benefits which have as yet been conferred by the new Government of Lima, should be mentioned that of the abolition of bull-fights,—a spectacle which for the cruelty of it has always been considered as a

disgrace to the Spanish and Portuguese people, and which the Cortes of Spain and Portugal have very properly suppressed in the peninsula of Europe. The example has been followed by the Governments of Rio Janeiro, Buenos Ayres, and Chile, and now by that of Lima; and they will doubtless, in a short time, cease to be tolerated in every part of South America.

At Lima the *Tauromania*, as it is called, was formerly carried on to an incredible extent; and, like the shows of gladiators among the Romans, bull-fights seemed almost as essential as food to the existence of a Peruvian.

Civil war has moderated this passion, and turned the attention of the inhabitants to objects of more importance: but the great cruelty with which the war has been conducted may, in some measure, be imputed to the bad influence of this sanguinary amusement on the mind and feelings. Scarcely a Sunday or church-festival passed over, which was not marked by the death of some unfortunate combatant, not to mention the bulls, horses, and dogs, which were of course sacrificed. I have even heard it said, that a box was often set apart for the use of

a confessor, that he might be ready on the spot to shrive the expected sufferers,—a curious specimen of cold-hearted pitiless preparation. It is stated upon good authority, in a Lima newspaper, that no less than five men had been killed on one occasion in the province of Jauja, and that this had at length induced the magistrates to interfere, in order to check the progress of a phrensy which was then beginning to be considered alarming.

I have before observed, that San Martin had been in the habit of exhibiting bull-baits at his country-house, and that, being unattended with danger, they were deemed a very polite diversion. He now determined, however, to prohibit bull-fights altogether, and ordered that three more only should be exhibited in public, the produce of which was to be appropriated to the building of a new line-of-battle ship of 60 guns, for the public service, and towards which, therefore, all good Patriots were expected to contribute.

The Amphitheatre is a quarter of a mile distant from the city, and is said to be capable of containing many thousand persons. The area is spacious, and upon a level with it are private boxes;

above which is the gallery, and above that again another tier of boxes, where the ladies of *haut ton* take their station. This day was appointed for the first of these last spectacles; at three o'clock every place was filled, and the *coup d'œil* was undoubtedly very imposing. The soldiers, who received admission *gratis*, occupied one half of the gallery, and in the centre of them sat the Supreme Delegate, Torre Tagles, with his lady, Monteagudo, and all the grand functionaries of State, as they are pompously styled. San Martin alone was absent; for, since he professes to take no share in the government of the country, he never shows himself in public.

When these illustrious personages took their seats, the band of music struck up a national air, but no outward symptoms of national enthusiasm were called forth by their appearance. No sooner, however, did the doors fly open, and admit an infuriated bull into the arena, than every eye glistened with delight, and one universal shout of applause resounded throughout the circus. I gladly refrain from detailing the various modes of

torture used in killing the poor animals: although fully prepared to witness a horrid spectacle, I found the reality infinitely more disgusting than the worst my imagination had conceived. The assailants were dressed in *ponchos* of different colours, and armed with spears, swords, and knives. Some were on horseback; others on foot; each holding a scarlet or yellow cloak in his left hand, to attract the notice of the bull, and attacking him by turns until the *matador* came forward to give the death-wound. Ten noble animals were slaughtered in succession; and the delight which all classes of spectators, of both sexes and of every age, took in this butchery, was absolutely rapturous. "*Esta muerto! esta muerto!*"—"He is dead! he is dead!" was vociferated amidst thunders of applause; and the writhings and bellowing of the poor wretch during his last agonies, equally excited risibility and enjoyment. Two horses only were killed, and one man tossed at the imminent peril of his life; but this accident appeared to be the *bon-bouche* of the entertainment, and "*Bueno toro!*"—"Good bull!" was the general cry.

The following is a translation of part of the bill of fare prepared for this occasion, and is enough as a specimen. The names of the bulls, and the verses in their praise, and various patriotic effusions, being left out.

VIVE LA PATRIA!

LIST

OF THE BULLS WHICH WILL BE FOUGHT
IN THE PLAZA FIRME DEL ACHO,
ON MONDAY THE 6TH OF MAY, 1822,
BY THE CARE AND DIRECTION OF THE COMPANY
OF MEAT PURVEYORS,
IN AID OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE LINE-OF-BATTLE SHIP
SAN MARTIN.

JUDGES,

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS MUNICIPALITY,
THE ALCALDES
D. FELIPE ANTONIO ALVORADO AND FRANCISCO CARRILLO
AND MUDARRA,
WITH THE ALDERMEN
MARQUEZ DE CASA MUNOZ AND D. PABLO BOCANEGRA.

"O Liberty! how beautiful is thy presence among us rendered by our heaven-sent Protector! What man can better appreciate thee than one who has felt the evils which, without thee, overwhelm a country; and who to establish thy dominion has thought no risk, no danger, no sacrifice, too great? O Liberty! how much more art thou to be prized since thy glories are the fruit of his heroism and of his victories!"

"NOTE.

"No exaggerations are requisite to obtain patronage for an amusement so accordant with the public taste. Suffice it to say, that as the object in view is the construction of a vessel which will serve to secure the liberty of our country, every endeavour has been made to obtain what will create most diversion. So it is that the dogs, bannerets, trappings of the horses, and one of the bull-fighters, who proposes to achieve against the first bull an action of great danger never before witnessed, will all contribute to distinguish the evening, and do credit to the attempt made to

please a public of such high merit. What will most astonish the spectators is, that at the commencement a cloud will appear to rise above the arena, and out of it will issue a Goth flying away from his victorious foes with the utmost precipitation.

"An early attendance is requested, as the bull-fight will begin before the usual hour."

May 10.—The Monteagudo sailed this day for Valparayso with most of the Spanish prisoners: she was said to have a very scanty supply of provisions and water, and it was thought that a large proportion of the old and feeble could not survive the voyage. More than a hundred had been permitted to freight two vessels to Rio Janeiro; one of these, the brig Pacific, I visited, and grieve to say the condition of the unfortunate passengers was perfectly deplorable. They expressed great joy, however, at their release from that "hell upon earth," as they emphatically styled the Monteagudo; and declared that no slave-ship could possibly present a scene of greater torment and misery

than they themselves had already experienced on board of her.

Monday, the 13*th.*—I accompanied some friends to see the Mint. The building is large, though not otherwise remarkable. We experienced great civility from the superintendent, who explained to us the various processes in the coinage of the dollar.

In the first place, the silver arrives from the mines in bars of 200 marks weight, which are then heated, and formed into smaller bars of one yard in length and two inches in breadth; these are made to pass five times successively between two cylinders turned by water-mills, until they are reduced to the thickness of the dollar.

This preliminary process was performed by negroes, in an under-ground apartment; whence we were carried into a large upper apartment, in which ten presses were arranged, each worked by one negro. By these presses the intended dollars are punched out of the flattened bars of silver; another negro is stationed at each press with a pair of scales to weigh them, and he transmits them to a third, by whom they are filed

and milled. The subsequent operations of heating the dollars in an oven, and afterwards stamping them, are performed in separate rooms.

The stamping-machines are six in number, each of which is capable of coining ten thousand two hundred dollars per day, which gives a total, when the whole are at work, of 61,200. The screw is the power used, and two negroes, with an overseer, are occupied in using it. The impression is received on both sides at one stroke: the dollars are then thrown into baskets, and conveyed away to the treasury.

I could not inform myself of the quantity of bullion, or coined money, then in the treasury: but as the mining districts had long been in the possession of the enemy, and lay unworked, it was not to be supposed that any superabundance could remain, particularly as the country affords no other exportable commodity, and every ship which sells her cargo must take away more or less. The law prohibits the exportation of bullion; but, like many other laws in this country, it may be easily evaded by those who wish to smuggle. It was a common complaint, that Lima, once so rich,

had now become one of the poorest cities in the world, and that the fees of coinage were hardly sufficient to support the establishment.

I saw several specimens of native silver ore, valued at eight and a half dollars per mark, and which were offered me for sale at that price; but, if purchased, they would have been liable to seizure upon my quitting the country.

Wednesday, the 15*th.*—This day fourteen merchant vessels were embargoed by the Government, and ordered to fetch troops from Guayaquil. Two of these were American; and the others belonged to native traders, whose interests were materially injured by so sudden and arbitrary a measure. Seven dollars a ton per month were promised them by way of indemnification, but the time of payment might be very distant.

Thursday, the 16*th.*—A great holiday. In the afternoon a splendid procession took place, to a spot about one mile distant from the city on the Callao road, to lay the first foundation-stone of a national monument in commemoration of the independence of Peru. The best companies of all the different regiments were collected together,

and drawn up under the trees on each side of the road. The whole of them, and more particularly the lancers and hussars, looked exceedingly well, and really made a soldier-like appearance. San Martin, as usual, was not present, and Torre Tagles led the procession in his state-carriage, followed by all the other ministers and official personages. A great number of ladies were there, and equestrians without number, so that the whole scene formed one of the most animated and interesting *coups d'œil* that I had witnessed in the country.

The ceremony of laying the foundation-stone was announced by a discharge of artillery and musketry, when Monteagudo, the principal Secretary of State, delivered a speech to the spectators, the purport of the concluding part of which was this: "that the present Government would maintain the cause of independence against the whole world, in arms, were it necessary; and that they hoped in the course of a few months to banish all the Spanish tyrants and plunderers from Peru." He pressed his hand to his heart, and used every gesture which could appear most

eloquent and affecting; but it was all lost upon his audience, who testified neither joy, nor enthusiasm, nor applause. A long parchment scroll was buried with some coins and medals, commemorating the names of all the principal liberators and patriots, to which, pointing with his finger—"There," said he, "are consigned to immortal glory and renown, the names—the ever-memorable names of those gallant Patriots who delivered their country from the Spanish yoke. Future generations will learn to bless their memory. The child yet unborn will hail them as benefactors, historians will commemorate their valiant achievements, and poets will resound their praises throughout the whole habitable world."

This will appear very bombastical, and such in reality was his discourse. A stranger would suppose that Peru was the most important and illustrious country on the earth, if he judged by the speeches and proclamations of the present rulers; as a specimen of which, a Minister is reported to have said, on one occasion, that the United States had one Washington, but that South America

boasted of a dozen, whose fame would be equally transmitted to the latest posterity.

Friday, May 17.—I bade adieu to Lima this day, and embarked at Callao, on board the American ship America, bound to the Sandwich Islands, Canton, and New York.

REMARKS

ON

SOUTH AMERICA.

REMARKS

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CHAPTER XIII.

Rise and Progress of the Revolution.—Military Operations in the United Provinces, Chile and Peru.—Geographical Divisions of South America.—Political Prospects of the New States.—Current of public Feeling in England.—Evils of Revolution.—Population:—Spaniards—Creoles—Mestizoes—Negroes—Indians.—Forms of Government.—Disunion of the States of Rio de la Plata.—Anti-revolutionary Opinions in Peru.—Local Miseries.—Religion.—Bad effects of Roman Catholic Superstitions.—Progress of Infidelity.—General Political Corruption.—Great length of time requisite for the Consolidation of the New States.—General Summary.

PREVIOUS to considering, in a general point of view, the present state and political prospects of the New States of South America, a few particu-

lars concerning the rise and progress of the Revolution and Revolutionary War may not perhaps be deemed altogether unacceptable.

A Patriot writer in Buenos Ayres traces the commencement of the revolutionary spirit among the South Americans so far back as the year 1725; when a rebellion of some magnitude and duration took place in Paraguay, and democratic principles were not only avowed in defiance of the Jesuits and Spanish authorities, but ostensibly acted upon by a part of the inhabitants with temporary success.

D. José Antiguera, a native of Lima, was the first to set himself up against the existing order of things, and to encourage rebellious feelings among the people for the advancement of his own ambitious designs. He contrived to usurp the supreme authority during some years, but was at length deposed and imprisoned by order of the Viceroy of Peru.

One Mompo then came forward in the character of a demagogue, and headed a party who took to themselves the title of Commons, *Comuneros*, and branded the friends of the King's Government

with the name of *Contrabandos.* Their principles were purely democratic, and their proceedings were characterized by the turbulence and disorder which usually characterize democracies.

In 1731, Antiguera and some of his partisans were executed as traitors at Lima, but their death served only to increase the revolutionary ferment of the public mind in Paraguay. They were canonized as martyrs to the cause of liberty; and the daughter of Antiguera, instead of mourning for her father, appeared in public sumptuously dressed, and declared, in the true spirit of republican enthusiasm, that she gloried in his death. This anecdote is quoted in her praise by the writer before-mentioned, and certainly tends to exhibit, in a very strong light, the sort of spirit which must have then prevailed.

The power of the Commons increased from that moment, and the appointment of a new Governor was speedily followed by his murder; nor was this rebellion finally suppressed until the year 1734.*

* For a more detailed account of this rebellion, the inquisitive reader is referred to the third volume of Southey's History of Brazil, c. 35.

The next political commotion of importance was the rebellion of the Peruvian Indians, in 1781, under José Condorcanqui, an Indian who claimed to be descended from Tupac Amaru, the last Inca of Peru. He was himself crowned Inca at Cuzco, by the title of Tupac Amaru II., and waged war with partial success against the Spaniards during a period of two years. In that time one-third of the whole population of Peru is said to have perished, and many flourishing towns and villages were pillaged and laid waste. The Spanish cause at length regained its wonted ascendancy—Tupac Amaru was defeated, taken prisoner, and put to death; the same city of Cuzco, where he had so lately been crowned in triumph, proving the scene of his ignominious execution. When tortured to declare the names of his accomplices, he is reported to have answered, "Two only are my accomplices,—you who interrogate me, in continuing your robberies upon the people; and I, in endeavouring to prevent you."

Ubalde, a creole of Africa, made the next attempt to overthrow the dominion of Spain over her colonies. He organized a plan, in conjunction

with others of his countrymen, for the total extermination of every Spaniard from Peru by one simultaneous massacre. So cruel an intention was happily frustrated by the treachery of an accomplice, and he too shared the usual fate of unsuccessful revolutionists, by expiring on the scaffold in 1805. He is said to have maintained his political opinions with constancy, and to have cried out during his last moments, that "the death of one or two individuals could not arrest the progress of a cause, whose final success had long been preparing by the corruption of the Government."

At length, on the 25th March, 1809, the standard of independence was for the first time hoisted in the town of La Paz, the capital of the province of the same name in Upper Peru. Obstinate, and dreadful to all concerned, was the revolutionary struggle which then ensued; but, although that ill-fated town was filled with executions by the Royalist generals, Goyeneche and Rieto; although Lantz and Rodriguez, the principal Revolutionary leaders, were themselves put to death; although the Viceroy Cisneros did his utmost to uphold the authority of the Spanish Go-

vernment,—still the spirit of independence spread itself throughout the country, and gained ground universally.

The Revolutionists, unable to maintain their cause openly and make head against the Government, had recourse to private machinations. Buenos Ayres became their principal place of rendezvous; and the leaders of the Patriot party assembled there were beginning to feel themselves sufficiently strong to strike a decisive blow, when news arrived of the occupation of Spain by the army of Napoleon Bonaparte.

This intelligence brought affairs to the desired crisis. A public meeting was immediately held, at which Castelli, a lawyer of eminence, boldly supported the popular cause, and the existing Government was forthwith deposed in a resolute though peaceful manner. The new Administration, consisting of a *junta* of nine persons, was established on the 25th May, 1810.

General Concha, and Liniers the Ex-viceroy, retired to Cordova, and endeavoured to raise an army for the restoration of their authority; but in vain: they were overcome, apprehended, and shot. The same fate awaited General Sanz and

Rieto: the Royal army of Peru was, for the time being, entirely dispersed; and the Patriots celebrated the anniversary of their revolution at Tiaguenaco in 1811, in security and triumph.

Caraccas, Chile, Banda Oriental, and Paraguay, had all declared their independence during the same year; and the long-smothered flame of revolution having now burst forth, its attendant evils of anarchy, licentiousness, and rapine, spread their destructive influence in every quarter, and the whole continent of South America became the scene of a sanguinary civil war.

Flattered by the first burst of success, the Patriot army, commanded by General Balcarce, was lulled into a sense of too great security. They were kept for a time in play by negotiations opened to them from Lima, and suffered Goyeneche to fall upon them unexpectedly at the head of an equal army of 6000 men. A battle was fought at Guaqui, on the 20th July, 1811, which ended in the total defeat of the Patriots, and the re-establishment of the Royal authority in Upper Peru.

Meanwhile, the members of the *Junta Gubernativa* at Buenos Ayres were not qualified for the due

discharge of the duties with which they had been intrusted. Their President, Colonel Saavedra, acted in such a manner as to produce general dissatisfaction, and the formation of a new *junta* of three took place in the autumn of the same year, 1811. They appointed General Belgrano to the command of a new army in Upper Peru; and he conducted the war with considerable success, defeating the Royalist General Tristan at Tucuman and Salta, until, through the management of some liberated prisoners, he was himself repulsed, and finally driven from Peru. This happened in the spring of 1815.

During the continuance of these military operations, the whole country of Upper Peru was filled with insurrections, slaughters, and executions. The Patriot writer before referred to, attributes all the evils endured by the wretched inhabitants to the cruel spirit of General Goyeneche, whose headquarters were at Potosi and Oruro. It is probable, however, that both parties deserve to share the odium incurred by the mode of conducting the war; and upon considering the influence possessed by all the fiercest passions of the human breast over human conduct, when let loose in society by

the opening of the flood-gates of revolution, the worst state of things, and the most sanguinary measures which the historian may be doomed to relate, appear no more than the natural and inevitable consequences of the political changes which are then taking place.

At Buenos Ayres popular disturbances continued to prevail; and it was not till the beginning of the year 1813 that any political measures were adopted of a nature calculated to be really beneficial to the country. The Government was then remodelled, and divided into the three branches of the Legislative, Judicial, and Executive,—the latter of which was concentrated in the person of one Director. Legal protection and encouragement was at the same time held out to foreigners; the importation of printing-presses and working utensils was admitted duty-free; slavery and the slave-trade were abolished; and the power of the Inquisition was formally abrogated. It happened here, however, as it must ever happen in new revolutionary governments, that, whatever might be the outward forms of the Constitution, real power lay in the hands of those

who commanded the army; and a number of military Directors successively exercised the supreme authority at the point of the bayonet, rather than on republican principles. It was in vain that these infant legislators endeavoured to restrain the undue exercise of such power, by introducing checks and balances into the constitution of the State; and, notwithstanding the *Estatutos Provisionales*, and *Juntas de Observacion*, and *Cabildos*, and *Censores*,* which were successively established for that purpose, the same irregular state of things has prevailed without intermission up to a very recent period. The appointment of General Rondeau to the command of a fresh army in Upper Peru, caused some temporary success; but in October 1815, he was defeated in the province of Cochabamba by Pezuela, at the battle of Sipe-Sipe, and thus Peru fell a third time into the possession of the Royalists.

The revolution in Chile first broke out towards the close of the year 1810, and the deposition of the Spanish authorities was succeeded, as at Buenos

* A public paper called *Censor* was at one time established for the express purpose of censuring the Government, if necessary.

Ayres, by the formation of a sort of Provisional Government, which was modelled and remodelled, and changed and changed again, according to the usual course of revolutions. The most distinguished political leaders of the Patriot party were D. José Miguel Carrera and his two brothers, and D. Bernardo O'Higgins, the natural son, by an Indian woman, of D. Ambrosio O'Higgins, late Viceroy of Peru.* The former appears to have set no bounds

* The accidental mention of Don Ambrosio O'Higgins, in this place, leads me to add a few particulars concerning his eventful life, which are perhaps not generally known. Notwithstanding the recent date of his administration, the early part of his career is involved in some obscurity. Two stories are related concerning him: one, that he was an Irishman of good family, who entered into the service of the King of Spain, and went out to seek his fortunes as a soldier in South America; the other, which is more romantic and passes current in the country, is, that he originally left Ireland as cabin-boy in some whaler or cruizer bound to the South Seas. He then either ran away or was accidentally left on shore in Chile, and for some years earned a livelihood by wandering about the country as a pedlar. Being a good Roman Catholic, and of winning manners, he soon conciliated the affections of all with whom he had dealings; and among the Araucanian Indians, in particular, became so great a favourite, that the most unreserved and friendly intercourse subsisted between him and them. At length it chanced that a war broke out between these Indians and the local Spanish Government, on which occasion the services of

to his ambition, and to have stopped at the adoption of no means, however violent, by which it might be gratified. In November 1811, he con-

O'Higgins, as guide, interpreter, and mediator, were called into requisition by the commander of the Spanish army. He acquitted himself so ably in this new situation, that a commission was next offered him, and his rise from that time was not less rapid than suited to his high merits. Whatever degree of credit may be attached to this account of his early years, it is certain that he contrived to acquire and retain an extraordinary degree of influence over the minds of the Indians, and owed to that circumstance his subsequent appointment to the command of a regiment, and to the government of Concepcion, a frontier town on the southern coast of Chile. Whilst there, La Perouse the celebrated navigator came in with his squadron to refit, and an opportunity was thus afforded to O'Higgins of displaying all the kindness and liberality of his disposition. He treated his enterprising visitors with the most marked attention and hospitality, insomuch that La Perouse is said to have requested at parting to know in what manner he could testify his sense of such unusual kindness:— O'Higgins suggested that the insertion of his name and services in the Captain's dispatches might perhaps prove advantageous, the Courts of Spain and France being then in intimate political connexion with each other. Without asserting as fact what is nevertheless commonly believed in Chile, namely, that he owed his promotion to this cause, it is certain that, not long after, he was appointed Captain-general of Chile, and then Viceroy of Peru; and his administration was such as to reflect the highest honour upon his name and memory.

trived, by a decisive blow, to overthrow the existing Government, and through military violence placed himself and his friends at the head of affairs. Experience soon proved his inability to fill such a situation: discord, faction, and anarchy, pervaded the councils of the Chilean Patriots to such a degree, that the Spanish Government in Peru was tempted to make an expedition for the recovery of Chile, and, in the autumn of 1814, their arms were crowned with entire success. The two eldest Carreras were taken prisoners, but afterwards escaped over the Cordilléra to Mendoza and Buenos Ayres: O'Higgins did the same, and Chile became once more a province of Spain. During this temporary banishment, O'Higgins established his political union with San Martin, who was then Governor of Mendoza, and they planned together the deliverance of Chile from the Spanish yoke. In February 1816, they marched at the head of an army of 4000 men, effected a passage over the Cordilléra, gained the battle of Checabuco, took the President Marcó prisoner, entered the capital of St. Jago, and finally annihilated the power of the Spaniards at

the well-known battle of Maypo, on the 5th of April, 1818.

One of the first acts of the now successful Revolutionists, was to consolidate their power by the death of their rivals and political enemies, the Carreras, the two eldest of whom were apprehended and shot at Mendoza by order of San Martin.* He placed his friend O'Higgins, with the title of Director, at the head of a Provisional Government; and a new Constitution was soon after

* The third brother had escaped to the United States, to raise an expedition for the relief of Chile, then in possession of the Spaniards, and actually returned to South America with a ship, arms, and volunteers, subsequently to the period of which I speak. He was then unable to obtain a footing in Chile, where the power of O'Higgins, the enemy of his family, had been established; and wandered at the head of his little army of adventurers and Indian allies for many months about the Pampas of Buenos Ayres, until he was defeated and taken prisoner in an unsuccessful attack upon the town of Mendoza. His execution as a traitor to his country followed by a very summary process; and thus in the same city, and at nearly the same period, the three brothers all came to an untimely end.

The whole history of the Carrera family furnishes a lively instance of the selfish ambition which actuates, the errors which attend, and the misfortunes which sooner or later for the most part terminate, the career of revolutionary heroes.

published, by virtue of which Chile became a free and independent state.

We now come to the Chilean expedition under San Martin and Lord Cochrane against Lima, the circumstances of which are all too well known to require a very long description. They commenced operations by sea and land in August 1820, and both commanders soon called into action the talents for war which had already distinguished them. The former equipped a naval force upon very scanty resources, and surmounted obstacles before which most men would have given way, with his characteristic courage and perseverance. At length the desired success attended their arms, and by the fall of Lima, in July 1821, the cause of independence was established in Peru. The object of the expedition being now effected, and the services of Lord Cochrane no longer wanted, a rupture ensued between him and San Martin, and he consequently left the country in disgust. San Martin then held military possession of Lima, and presided with the title of Protector over a Provisional Government of his own creation until the month of July 1822. Having gone away for a time, in

the early part of the same year, to solicit aid from Bolivar, who had then completed the independence of Columbia, he found Lima in a state of great confusion upon his return. His favourite minister Monteagudo had, by his measures, given such umbrage, that he was forcibly dismissed from office, and San Martin was now obliged to confirm the popular act. He then called together a National Representative Congress, the first that had ever existed in Peru, and surrendering into their hands the power, which he had never exercised to the satisfaction of the people, retired altogether from public life.

The proceedings of the Congress, after the supreme power had been left in their hands by San Martin, were marked by the weakness and discord which might have been anticipated under all the circumstances. A new actor upon the scene appeared in the person of their president, Colonel Riva Aguero; but the jarring elements of democratic faction were not to be controlled by him. The Spaniards, profiting by the dissensions of the Patriot legislators, again took possession of Lima; and the whole country of Peru would probably have

been once more brought under their subjection, had not Bolivar, the liberator of Columbia, in pursuance of a former treaty with San Martin, commenced a fresh campaign in Peru. He landed in the autumn of 1823. The success which has subsequently attended his arms is too well known to require much recapitulation here. By the last advices, the victory of Ayacucho, gained by General Sucre, finished the campaign, and Peru may now be fairly considered independent of the mother-country.

The geographical boundaries of Chile are so fixed by nature, that no political changes can well affect them. The desert of Atacama, on the North, the Andes on the East, and the Pacific Ocean on the West, all concur to render this part of America distinct from every other; and the modern substitution of an independent government in the place of the colonial administration of Spain, still leaves the geography of the country undisturbed.

The boundaries of La Plata and of Peru are less clearly defined, the Spaniards still holding possession of many provinces in Upper Peru, which

must hereafter constitute part of the territory of one of those two States. It is fair to suppose, however, that the same provinces which once constituted the two separate vice-royalties will now constitute two separate independent States; and that, the form of government only being altered, their geographical limits will remain as before. Until, however, the termination of the war and the consolidation of the new States can set the question at rest altogether, the countries of La Plata, Upper Peru, and Peru Proper, or Lower Peru, must be separately described.

The Republic of La Plata was first established by the meeting of a National Representative Congress in 1816, although the union of the States has always been rather nominal than real; according to the last accounts it consists of ten States, viz. Buenos Ayres, Santa Fé, Entre Rios, Cordova, Mendoza, St. Juan, Punto de St. Luis, St. Jago del Estero, Tucuman, and Salta. Most of these States, or rather towns, are very insignificant in point of population and political importance, and their scattered insulated situations, with long uninhabited tracts of country extending be-

tween each, afford few natural facilities to their future political union.

The provinces of Upper Peru having long been the principal theatre of the revolutionary war, and last strong-hold of the Spaniards in South America, remain as yet almost wholly unexplored by modern travellers. They form, however, a very important part of that continent; and the large number of valuable mines which they contain, will give them increased importance hereafter. According to the old Spanish division, Upper Peru consisted of seven provinces, viz. Chiquitos, Moxos, Santa Cruz de la Sierra or Puno, La Paz, Cochabamba, La Plata or Charcas, and Potosi. These extend from lat. 12° S. to 23° S. and from the 57th to the 70th degree of W. longitude. They were subdivided again into twenty-one minor dependencies. The capital town of La Paz lies in lat. 16° 30′ S. and is only 130 miles E. of the Pacific.

Peru Proper, or, as called in contradistinction to the above provinces, Lower Peru, extends from Tumbez in lat. 2° 30′ S. to the desert of Atacama, in lat. 22° S. It is divided into seven intendancies, of which, according to the last acknowledged

census, the population was 1,076,997: stated as follows:—

Tarma	201,259
Guancauchica	30,917
Guamauga	111,559
Truxillo	230,967
Areguipa	136,801
Cuzc	216,382
Lima	149,112
	1,076,997

This population occupies a territory which is calculated to contain 495,000 square miles.

The census taken in 1790 states the population of Lima, the capital, at 52,627, divided as follows:—

Spaniards and Creoles	17,215
Mestizoes	4,631
Quarterons	2,383
Quinterons	219
Indians	3,912
Negroes	8,960
Mulattoes	5,972
Zambos	3,384
Chinos	1,120
Total	47,796
Religious votaries independent of the secular clergy, male and female	1,647
Living in communities without having made the vows	3,184
	52,627

It does not seem probable that any increase in numbers has taken place since that period: on the contrary, the emigration or banishment of nearly all the Spaniards may have produced some change the other way. With regard to the clergy, whose numbers are always remarked as unusually great in Lima, a printed document inserted in the Lima Gazette, April 20th, 1822, states that, from returns recently made, the number of male individuals then in the cloisters amounted to 944. The monasteries are twenty, the convents eighteen in number.

In taking a general political survey of these new States, it would be a delightful and comparatively easy task to contrast their past condition, as the dependent colonies of an arbitrary Government, with that which the imagination readily pictures for the future, when dwelling on the numerous blessings which may ultimately attend the establishment of civil liberty and independence. The vulgar error of the present day appears, however, to be in contemplating with over-avidity the supposed beneficial consequences

of revolution, instead of remarking its actually attendant evils; for by thus dwelling too exclusively on the bright side of the picture, the mind acquires a distorted view of things, or, confounding the future with the present, loses sight of all the obstacles that intervene between its wishes and their fulfilment. Nor is it matter of astonishment that such should be the case, when we reflect that our national feelings, our interests, our imaginations, and perhaps our prejudices, are all enlisted on one side.

The tyranny, bigotry, and illiberality of the Government of Spain has long been proverbial among Englishmen. From early childhood we are accustomed to regard the blood-stained annals of Spanish conquest in America with mingled sentiments of pity and disgust,—pity for the millions of Indian victims who were immolated at the altar of avarice, and disgust at the cruelty of their greedy executioners. The subsequent jealousy and mistrust of England, which, not without reason it must be confessed, has regulated the policy of the Court of the Escurial towards their Transatlantic possessions, called

forth a corresponding degree of ill-will, and even occasional hostility, on our parts to their commercial regulations.

It is not surprising, therefore, that when the revolutionary standard was first hoisted at Buenos Ayres, we were glad to gratify our national feelings, and to take advantage of every opening afforded for the vent of our manufactures and the furtherance of our commercial greatness on the wreck of that of the mother-country.

The same causes which had directed the tide of public opinion against Spain, could hardly fail to produce a corresponding reflux in favour of her insurgent colonists. There is always to be found in Englishmen a generous spirit of enthusiasm, and a kindred sympathy for the struggles and successes of other countries engaged in bettering their political condition and rising up to take a place among the nations of the earth,—a spirit which has long operated in favour of South American independence, and, assisted by still more powerful motives of interest in a commercial sense, has been gradually increasing up to the present day.

We are, moreover, prone to exaggerate events and occurrences which happen at a distance, particularly if they are involved in some degree of obscurity, according to the old remark of Tacitus,—"*Omne ignotum pro magnifico est.*" The New World, since the date of its discovery, has thus always been exposed to the notice of Europeans through a magnifying medium; and now, instead of beholding in South America a number of petty democracies, prematurely born, and still subject to numberless revolutionary miseries, we picture to our imaginations the existence of so many enlightened republics, each with a Washington at its head, and favoured by all the blessings which liberty and commercial as well as political prosperity can bestow.

When the eye of the observer ranges over the continent of South America, the geographical prospect there exhibited assists this delusion. The magnitude of the country, the fame of its metallic treasures, the grandeur of its mountains, and the excellence of its climate in every quarter, combine to excite the liveliest feelings of admiration and astonishment: but such prospects, it must be con-

fessed, afford of themselves a very insufficient ground whereon to form an estimate of the greatness of this part of the world in a political sense; for where is the advantage of an immense extent of territory, if it be not adequately peopled? and where is the advantage of its gold and silver mines, if, as the learned writers of the Peruvian Mercury assert, they check the progress of agriculture and exercise a demoralizing influence over the population? Nor can it be affirmed that the luxuriousness of a tropical and genial climate is in any way well calculated to exalt the national character: on the contrary, it has often been remarked, with too much truth, that in proportion as Nature is most prolific in her spontaneous gifts to man, so are his physical and moral energies the less called into action for the purpose of turning those gifts to a profitable account.

It is, indeed, one among the many beautiful proofs of the wisdom with which Providence conducts the moral government of the world, that the very hardships and difficulties which in northern climates might seem likely to embitter existence,

serve in the end to promote human happiness and improvement; and that, in more favoured regions, the very ease with which a comfortable subsistence is obtained, by giving encouragement to indolence, tends to weaken the incentives to labour and to retard the progress of bodily and intellectual excellence. By giving, therefore, due weight to the powerful influence of these physical causes on human conduct, we may well be justified in doubting if ever the nations of South America can attain an equal degree of energy, or of political greatness, or even of moral excellence, with those in the less favoured regions of our northern hemisphere.

According to the Tables in Humboldt's Essay on New Spain, the population and territorial extent of South America are as follows:—

PERU AND CHILE .	Population .	1,700,000
BUENOS AYRES .	Population .	1,100,000
	Total .	2,800,000

Square leagues of 25 to a degree:

Peru . . .	30,390
Chile . . .	22,574
Buenos Ayres	143,014
Total .	195,978

The great disproportion between the extent of territory and the actual population is very striking, particularly if we consider that the metropolis of Great Britain alone contains more inhabitants than all the provinces of La Plata, extending over twenty-eight degrees of latitude and thirteen of longitude. It may indeed be said, that the rapid increase of population hereafter will render this only a temporary evil; but until the fact of such increase, to which there are numerous hindrances, shall be proved by experience, all reasoning upon it is assuredly superfluous.

To judge by what we know and see, the prospect to those who would speculate on the future greatness of this portion of the New World is not very encouraging; for it is not merely the scantiness of the population, but the quality of it, that must also be taken into consideration: and here it may be observed, that the heterogeneous mixture of races which compose this population presents an evil of the first magnitude, which cannot, under any circumstances, be easily removed.

The aristocracy of colour, if I may use the expression, has a prejudicial effect upon the minds

of all classes: the one it inflates with useless pride, the other it degrades by a humiliating sense of inferiority. Sentiments of jealousy and hatred are thus engendered in their minds, ending, if not in open hostilities, at least in disunion and separation of interests. The old Government encouraged, for obvious political reasons, the distinctions of blood between the several castes of inhabitants, by allowing distinct privileges. The new States will, if they are wise, act upon an opposite principle, and endeavour, by putting all these different persons upon an equal footing, to amalgamate them in one social compact. Still, the force of prejudice is so strong, that under any such modification of the laws it will be difficult to render the desired union effectual and permanent; and we may therefore naturally expect, that a nation thus composed will advance by very slow and tedious steps towards a higher degree of political importance.

The Spaniards, and creole inhabitants of pure Spanish descent, constitute the first and most enlightened class of inhabitants. The former may now be said, however, to have been, rather

than to be; since all, or nearly all, have been either killed, imprisoned, or driven from the country, in the course of the revolutionary war. Their misfortunes entitle them, as individuals, to deep commiseration; and it is but fair to state, that in Peru, where they were settled in the largest numbers, their fall was by no means welcomed with that joy by their fellow-citizens, which the proclamations of the present rulers would lead the world to imagine. The day of their banishment from Lima was, indeed, a day of mourning to the whole city; and the expression of such sympathetic régret for them in the hour of adversity, furnishes the best evidence that they had made a liberal and honourable use of their prosperous fortunes.

They have been reproached for monopolizing all the wealth, knowledge, and official dignities of the country; but admitting it to be true, which it undoubtedly is, we must nevertheless believe that they monopolized all the respectability of the country also. They alone were qualified to form an efficient aristocracy, and their loss will be severely felt before their creole successors can receive such an education, and enjoy such oppor-

tunities of improvement, as shall enable them to supply the place of their ancient rulers advantageously in the public councils.—Besides, these creoles of Spanish descent are few in proportion to the other inhabitants of South America; for, in Peru, they have been computed at no more than one-eighth of the whole population, and the same estimate may be made as to the provinces of Rio de la Plata.

Next in consideration comes the Mestizoes, or descendants of Spaniards and Indians, and their various descendants, who are classed under the following heads:

Quarterons .	Descendants of Spaniards and Mestizoes.
Quinterons . .	Spaniards and Quarterons.
Cholos . . .	Indians and Mestizoes.

These amount to about one-fourth of the whole.

The Indians and negroes, and their descendants, including mulattoes, and Zamboes or descendants of negroes and Indians, who are not very numerous, constitute the remaining classes; and of these the negro-slaves in Peru are reckoned at not more than 40,337, and the free people of colour at about the same number, viz. 41,404.

In the course of the revolutionary war, the negro-slaves have at different times been taken from their masters in large numbers, and forced to serve as soldiers in the army: what will ultimately be their lot, on the termination of the war, it is rather difficult to foresee; for their moral condition cannot be ameliorated by the freedom and licentiousness which a military life in such countries is wont to give, nor will it be an easy task to persuade them to return to their agricultural and domestic labours, either as bondsmen or hired labourers, in a way advantageous to their employers and the community at large.

In Peru the slave-trade used formerly to be carried on through Panama, and in the Peruvian Mercury the annual importation is stated at five hundred; but it has long since been discontinued, and now the large majority of the Peruvian negroes are creoles of the country. In the town of Lima they are employed in the largest numbers, amounting to nearly 9000 souls. Their treatment and condition seem to be on a par with that of the lower orders in

most countries. They have lost the barbarous and uncivilized appearance of the native Africans, which in Brazil and in other slave-trading countries attracts remark, and being farther advanced in the scale of civilization, assume more of the appearance of Europeans both in dress and in manners.

In Chile the system of slavery was always maintained in so trifling a degree, and the number of negro-slaves was consequently so small, that the abolition of it by the new Government has in fact been rather nominal than real.

The Peruvian Indians, among whom are included the Indian inhabitants of Upper as well as Lower Peru, continue, like their ancestors, very far advanced beyond the Indians of Brazil and some other parts of America, in point of moral and social habits of life and general civilization. A part of them, indeed, in the mountainous regions of the Andes, lead a life of savage barbarism, and are independent of all social order; but the majority are fitted, by character and ordinary endowments, to take a place as fellow-citizens with the other inhabitants of

the new States, notwithstanding the debasing influence of the policy of the old Spanish Government, which may have lowered them in some degree in arts and knowledge below the level of their interesting ancestors, the subjects of the Incas of Peru.

The prodigious* depopulation which has taken place among them since those happy times, affords a melancholy proof of their misfortunes, and the misery of their past condition under the Spanish Government; so that, whatever may be their future lot, the friend of humanity has at least the satisfaction of reflecting, that if it undergo any change, that change must be rather for the better than the worse. The first fruits of revolution appear indeed already favourable to their cause; for to say no more, the *Mita*, or annual conscription, a most oppressive law by which they were compelled to labour in the mines, has been discontinued, and virtually if not formally repealed, never to be renewed, at

* In 1551 the Indians, in the three viceroyalties of Santa Fé, Peru, and Buenos Ayres, were estimated by the Royal Commissioners at 8,255,000; the present numbers cannot be supposed to exceed 2,255,000.

least upon any consistent principles, by a Patriot government.

The Patriot newspapers always treat the Indians as their brethren, and profess to hold the cause of all native-born Americans, whatever be their caste, as one and the same: the *Sol del Peru* is emblazoned upon the national flag, and Indian oppression is a term of reproach constantly made use of in their declamations against the Royalists.

But another circumstance, much more to be depended upon than the threats or promises of any Patriot government, is, that the Indian regiments have mainly contributed to the success of the war. That timid nature which history assigns to them, seems to be wearing off; for as soldiers they are hardy, brave, obedient, patient of fatigue, and easily disciplined: indeed, by mixing upon an equal footing with the whites, they naturally become more enlightened, and see their own strength too well to allow themselves hereafter to be ill-treated with impunity; nor can there be a doubt that they would make a profitable use of this knowledge in re-asserting their social and natural

rights, in case any daring attempt should be made to renew oppressive regulations.

Their ingenuity, in many respects, is truly astonishing: the silver filigree work, made at Guamanga, is surpassed nowhere but in China. In other parts of the country, and particularly in the provinces of Moxos and Chiquitos, they are represented as being excellent cabinet-makers, and fond of playing upon musical instruments of their own fabrication, such as guitars, violins, organs, &c.

That which appears to be the greatest drawback to their civilization is the want of Christian knowledge. They have exchanged the worship of the Sun for that of crosses, relics, and images of Saints. The superstitions of Catholicism have taken root amongst them in their very worst forms, and corrupt priests may be truly said to have "shut the book of knowledge, and made the Word of God of none effect through their traditions." The traffic in Bulls is carried on to a great extent, and the poor people, in furtherance of it, are taught to believe that their eternal salvation depends upon the purchase of these spiritual nostrums.

To suppose that they in their ignorance can distinguish between adoration and veneration, is altogether absurd; and the mere fact of their conversion to Christianity under such circumstances, can neither afford much satisfaction to the philanthropic inquirer, nor conduce materially to the improvement of their condition in a political point of view.

In summing up this brief account of the population of the new South American States, it is difficult to conceive it possible that the multiplication of the human species can go on with the same, or any thing near the same, rapidity, as in the United States of North America: for the inhabitants of the several nations of Europe may be brought together in a foreign land, and be so assimilated by intermarriages as to form one respectable community; but the mixture of Africans, Indians, and Europeans, and their various intermediate castes, is very different. "*Diversum confusa genus Panthera Camelo;*"— and though Nature may and will take its course, there must arise various checks to the rapid progress of population in the prejudices of some, and

not a little in the universal habits of life which are too prevalent in tropical climates, and are known by experience to have a powerful influence in counteracting the law of Nature in that particular respect. The example, then, of the United States of America, affords no just criterion by which we may estimate the rise of South America in population or in the scale of political greatness, whether we take numbers into consideration, or the character of the people or the original stock from which they spring, and the sort of education which they have hitherto received.

The Republican form of government appears to be adopted, or about to be adopted, in Chile, La Plata, and Peru.

In Chile, the brightest prospect of political union and social happiness, arising from the compactness of its territory and the character of its people, is now held out; but from the observations already made, it will be apparent that republicanism exists, as yet, more in name than in reality, and that the progress making in the legal settlement of the country, by means of a regular free Constitution, is very slow, and by no

means adequate to the wishes of those who are interested in the prosperity of this infant State.

The Provinces of La Plata are declared, by the last adopted Constitution, to form one federal republic, corresponding, in a general point of view, to the federal republic of the United States of America. Each State is to be governed by its own particular laws and usages, and a Representative Congress, assembled annually, will legislate for the general interests of the whole commonwealth. This plan looks well in theory and on paper, but its practical adoption, in a manner beneficial to all classes, must be attended with many difficulties. If all the States resembled the principal State of Buenos Ayres, some good practical effects might reasonably be expected; for there, a constant succession of revolutions and the experience of many years, not to mention the comparatively advanced state of the inhabitants in knowledge, arts, and manners, owing to its having long been the capital of the country and seat of foreign commerce, give its government some chances of stability and a just title to superior respect. But Buenos Ayres is

only one out of many States whose political union is to form one nation, and its acknowledged superiority renders it, for that very reason, odious to the rest. These other provinces of La Plata afford at present and in prospect much less to admire than to deplore: the jealousy, suspicion, hatred, and contempt of each other, which have been engendered in the course of a long revolutionary war, seem to grow with the growth, and to strengthen with the strength, of the respective States, and afford but bitter ingredients for social union; very different, indeed, from that good-will and mutuality of interest and feeling which are the natural bases of a federal republic.

The establishment of a republic in Peru appears likely to be a work of still greater difficulty; and if it be allowable to judge of the people of the interior by those of the metropolis, it would not be too much to say, that the greater number are most partial to a Kingly government. This feeling was at one time very openly avowed, during the Protectorate of San Martin; insomuch, that a writer in one of the public journals did not hesitate to

quote a well-known line of Homer in support of his monarchical opinions: and we may therefore be allowed to presume, that whatever the wishes of one party may be for the establishment of a republic in Peru, it is a question still open, to say the least, to much discussion, and a measure likely to encounter some degree of opposition.

It will be a work, also, of infinite time and labour, to tranquillize this once happy country, now still suffering under the various scourges of revolution. The mines are no longer worked—the fields are to a great extent left uncultivated—the labouring classes, particularly the negro-slaves, have been taken away from the plantations to serve in the armies as soldiers—the trade of the interior is suspended—whole villages have in some instances been destroyed; and Lima itself, the once gay, rich, and luxurious seat of Spanish Vice-royalty, has been taken and retaken, and alternately exposed to the miseries of siege, famine, anarchy, and military government!

Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that the people, who feel the miseries of present revolution, but cannot appreciate or even under-

stand the future advantages which it is expected to produce, should mourn with melancholy satisfaction over the past, and curse rather than bless the names of their deliverers; and that, with the exception of those who were in the immediate enjoyment of wealth and power, most of the inhabitants of Lima, at the time I speak of, should be secretly dissatisfied with the new lights and liberties which had been conferred with most unwelcome generosity upon them.

The influence exercised by religion over communities, as well as individuals, is too great and important to be left unnoticed, when treating of countries which have long been exposed beyond all others to that influence. Unfortunately, however, in the spiritual and temporal power possessed by the Roman Catholic clergy, the vital parts of religion appear to have been lost; and in no part of the Christian world is the state of Christianity at a lower ebb. It cannot, therefore, but be regretted by us Protestants, that in all the new States the Roman Catholic religion should be the only one acknowledged and tolerated by the Government. The sale of Bulls, particu-

larly among the Peruvian Indians, has been already mentioned; and it would be easy to recapitulate the many superstitious observances which fall under a traveller's daily observation,—such as ridiculous vows of abstinence from certain meats, games, &c.; processions, image-worship, relics, &c. &c. One of the advantages of a new order of things will doubtless be to bring these into merited contempt, and put a stop to frauds and abuses which, under the mask of religion, have been so long practised to a disgraceful extent upon the credulity of the illiterate inhabitants.

But there are evils of an opposite character attendant on revolution, which may lead to still more dangerous results; for men are ever prone to extremes, and no sooner do they cease to be bigots than they are inclined to become infidels: they learn to detect the follies of vulgar ignorance and the abuses of priestcraft, but cannot distinguish the precious ore from the dross with which it is surrounded, and throw away the essentials together with the superfluous appendages of religion. This fatal error is one of the most com-

mon and perhaps most dreadful evils of revolution. The French Revolution was mainly distinguished by it; those of latter years in Spain and Portugal were by no means free from it; and in South America the march of free principles, both as regards politics and religion, has been nearly simultaneous.

At Buenos Ayres, where the diffusion of knowledge is more general than elsewhere, the tenets of the French school of philosophy are likewise more generally diffused among the higher classes, and they are becoming more and more prevalent in the countries of Chile and Peru, where ship-loads of French deistical books are now freely imported, and bought up with great avidity

Thus, then, until a reformation of religion can take place in these countries, of which at present there seems not to be the most distant prospect, it is to be apprehended that scepticism will fill up the void left by those who desert the ranks of superstitious bigotry, and add another to the long catalogue of revolutionary evils.

More might, doubtless, be enumerated; but without going farther, enough has been said to

show, that allowing the States of La Plata, Chile, and Peru, to have established their independence, and commenced the work of political regeneration upon steady principles, setting aside also the chances of long-continued dissensions and civil war, which are nevertheless more than probable,—still, under the very best circumstances, they will have to contend against gigantic difficulties. A scanty, heterogeneous, and divided population, buried for centuries past in ignorance and superstition, and subsequently hurried into all the excesses of revolution, are bad and intractable materials to work upon. To pull down has always been easier than to restore; and because an ugly old building is demolished, it does not follow that a magnificent palace, just and harmonious in all its proportions, shall at once, as if by the stroke of an enchanter's wand, arise in its stead. A good architect must first be found; and even when the desired structure does appear, it may happen that the inhabitant for whom it was intended is incapable, through ignorance, of appreciating its beauties, or making a fit use of its conveniencies. So, with reference to South Ame-

rica, we believe that the fabric of Spanish government is already virtually demolished; but where are the Patriot politicians capable of rebuilding a new social edifice on firm and equitable bases? Where are the people, whose will, declared in a Representative Assembly, can safely be trusted with the discharge of legislative functions?

A very long interval of time, therefore, must necessarily elapse, before the anticipated blessings of independence can be enjoyed to any great extent. Crimes and plunders, alternate periods of anarchy and tyranny, are still likely to prevail for years to come: at least there is at present no visible check to the perpetuation of such miseries, in the moral and intellectual condition of the people; for talent, influence, consistent principles, and superior respectability, are gone with the Spaniards. With the birth and slow education of new generations, the necessary mass of knowledge, skill, talent, and it is to be hoped of virtue also, may spring up to assist and direct the labours of the future legislator; but, taking the most favourable view of the actual state of things, it must be confessed that, notwithstanding the sanguine ex-

pectations entertained by modern speculators, the prospect which South America displays is far less brilliant and cheering than the friend of humanity would desire, or than the generality of persons at the present day appear willing to believe.

SANDWICH ISLANDS.

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CHAPTER XIII.

VOYAGE TO THE SANDWICH ISLANDS, AND RESIDENCE AT WOAHOO.

DURING the voyage from Lima to the Sandwich Islands, nothing occurred worthy of remark. The weather was invariably mild and agreeable, the thermometer ranging between 70° and 80°, and the trade winds so light and fair, that we seldom had occasion to take in any sail.

On the 24th of June, at five P. M. we made the island of Owyhee, at the distance of forty miles. The snow was plainly discernible upon the peak of Mounah-Roah, which is one of the highest mountains in the world. Its height has been

estimated at 18,400 feet above the level of the sea; and if this calculation be exact, it exceeds Teneriffe by 3680 feet, and is little inferior to Chimborazo, the loftiest point of the Andes.

June 25.—We passed Mowee during the night, and at daybreak saw only its western extremity. The immense cliffs of Morotoi next arose to view, and gradually, as the morning mists cleared off, exhibited a wild and dreary appearance. A fresh breeze soon carried us along the northern side, where the precipices are steep and the surf breaks upon the rocks with tremendous violence. Upon approaching the south side of Woahoo, the appearance of the land was obscured, as at Mowee, by clouds and mist. Various crags and rocky promontories jut out into the sea, and seem at a distance to form a little archipelago of islets, which, backed by overhanging cliffs and mountains, produce a curious and romantic effect.

At two o'clock P. M. we could plainly distinguish the huts, canoes, and persons of the natives on the sea-shore—some employed in fishing, others in mending their nets. The shipping and

CHART OF THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.

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smoke of Hannah-rourah, the capital of the Sandwich Islands, soon after came into view, and the approach of some boats and canoes kept us all in a state of agreeable excitement. At three o'clock we anchored in the roadstead, and received visits from several American residents. They assured us that no danger was to be apprehended from the natives, with whom they had been accustomed to live upon the most amicable footing, and that some Missionaries and their families were likewise established there. Mr. Jones, the American Consul, kindly offered me accommodation for the night, which I accepted, and immediately accompanied him on shore, leaving my fellow-passengers, who were less eager and impatient, to follow the next day.

Upon landing, we were immediately surrounded by a mob of men, women, and children, who pressed forward to shake me by the hand, and eyed me with great apparent curiosity. They were all dressed *au naturel,* or nearly so, with nothing but the *maro,* a cincture of cloth made from the paper mulberry-tree, round their waists; their cries were most discordant, and the clatter of women's

tongues not the least audible. I afterwards found out that they were settling a nickname for me, in allusion to some peculiarity in my dress or person. This they do invariably, whenever a stranger comes among them; and it is astonishing how quick-sighted, and even witty, they often are, in ridiculing the least affectation of manner, awkwardness of gait, or bodily deformity.

Having thus encountered their jokes on first landing, I went with the Consul to the palace of the King, if such a term can be applied to a grass hut, floored with mats, and only distinguished from the rest by a few cannon placed about it *in terrorem*. Imagination had pictured the monarch, sitting in the midst of his chiefs with dignified composure, his interpreter on one side and secretary on the other, (for he really has two such officers); and, as the subject of a brother king, I anticipated a most gracious reception. What, then, was my astonishment on entering the royal hut!

"Oh, majesty! Oh, high ambition, lowly laid!"

The royal beast lay sprawling on the ground in a

state of total drunkenness and insensibility. On one side of his head was extended an enormous sow, which every now and then gave a grunt, as if in sympathy with its master; and upon the other side sat his Queen, an immense woman, like him, almost in a state of primitive nudity, who seemed endeavouring, though in vain, by her caresses, to assuage his beastly transports: a few chiefs and domestics, in all about twenty, completed the group—some asleep, others fanning away the flies, and singing the wildest and harshest lullaby that ever saluted mortal ears.

We then passed into another room belonging to the head Queen; who, though equally large in her person, had a benevolent and pleasing cast of countenance. She was dressed in a loose robe of English chintz, and, to my delight, was engaged in learning to write, which she had only attempted within a few days. She showed me her performance on the slate with great eagerness; and well she might, for really the letters were by no means badly formed. I then underwent, as on my first landing, a thorough examination, during which her Majesty often laughed immoderately,

and ended her remarks by saying that I was a mere child, and had no beard.

The ground part of the apartment was matted, and the walls hung round with mats, with a large and handsome mirror on one side, and upon the whole had a comfortable appearance; though the furniture, comprising several Chinese chests, a mahogany table, and three matted bedsteads—in addition to the living furniture, comprising her Majesty the Queen and her numerous attendants, who lay extended on the floor in different attitudes, and kept up an incessant singing sort of noise—gave to the whole scene a truly fantastic character.

Mr. Jones accommodated me at night with a bed in his hut, and introduced me the next morning to the other American residents, who were all seafaring men, and had come to this place to carry on a trade for sandal-wood.

We then paid a second visit to the King, who had by this time recovered a little from the debauch of the preceding night. He shook me heartily by the hand, and was pleased at hearing that I was an Englishman, saying, that his islands belonged to the

King of Great Britain, to whom they had been formerly surrendered in Vancouver's time, by his father, old Tama-hama-hah, and desiring me to apply to him for any thing I might want during my stay. He afterwards said, that he was too much intoxicated to talk with me any longer at the moment, but hoped to be sober in the course of a few days, and in the mean time would leave the Queen to do the honours of the house. We were ushered accordingly into the inner apartment, where a third lady, whom I had not yet seen, presided at a table which groaned under the weight of bottles of wine, and almost every known spirituous liquor. I immediately drank her health in a glass of the wine; but she, to my great surprise, pledged me in a good tumbler-ful of gin, and quaffed it off at one draught, as if it had been water.

The fourth and last Queen was next introduced, and made a similar libation; but it was evident that she had gone too far already. She did not hesitate to own her frailty, indeed, and said, that as the King her husband had been enjoying a drinking-bout, she had a right to take

the same license herself. She then began to tumble about the room, and sing, or rather utter, discordant cries after the fashion of the country, until I could bear the sight no longer, and turned away in disgust, lamenting the beastly excesses to which the human creature is carried in a natural and unenlightened state.

The mere arts of civilization and intercourse with Europeans are evidently insufficient to elevate the character, or correct the immoral habits, of men in such a state of society. This is reserved for an infinitely more powerful and influential cause, namely, the Christian dispensation; and who, then, that had witnessed such a scene in savage life as I have here cursorily described, but would feel most anxious to impart the blessings of Christianity to these rude islanders? So thinking, I directed my steps to the dwelling of some American Missionaries, who had arrived a few months ago, and my visit was altogether most gratifying. Their house, a little distant from the village, is built of wood, brought with them ready prepared from America, and is sufficiently large for the accommodation of four Missionaries, with their wives

and families; of whom the principal, Mr. Bingham, seemed very active and zealous in the discharge of his missionary duties.

Three English gentlemen were on a visit to them; namely, Mr. Ellis, a Missionary from Otaheite, and Messrs. Bennet and Tyreman, sent out by the London Missionary Society to inspect all their different stations. They had taken advantage of an opportunity which offered from Otaheite to visit the Sandwich Islands, and were agreeably surprised to find that a beginning had been already made in the work of propagating the Christian religion among them. Mr. Ellis found the language analogous to that of the Society Islands, with which he was perfectly acquainted: and having brought some converted natives from thence with him, their united exertions proved of great use to Mr. Bingham and his associates. Mr. Ellis gave me much interesting information respecting the past and present state of Otaheite and its dependencies. The efforts of the Missionaries have at length been attended by success: as a proof of which, he said the King, with the greater part of his subjects, are now not only

good moral Christians, but sufficiently well instructed to be able to read the Gospel and other religious books which have been translated into the language of the country, and they cooperate zealously in the propagation of Christian knowledge among the adjacent islands.

With regard to the Sandwich Islands, it cannot be expected that any very beneficial result should be perceived in the short space of a few months after the arrival of the Missionaries. It is enough that a beginning is made, and facilitated by several favourable circumstances, of which the following is the most important; namely, the previous abolition of idolatry. The present King, Reho-reho, upon the death of his father, Tama-hama-hah, abolished all the Taboo regulations, *morais* or temples, priests, idols, and every idolatrous practice of which we read in the journals of the time of Cook and Vancouver. Since that event the King and all his people have lived without any religious worship whatever, so that in the propagation of a new religion among them, the Missionaries have only to perform the comparatively easy task of establishing truth, without that of eradicating error.

When the Missionaries first arrived, in the spring of 1822, the King gave them a gracious reception, assigned a spot of ground for their house and chapel, and expressed his desire to receive instruction in reading and writing. He said, however, at the same time, that "he would not be led by the nose, nor give up the free exercise of his own kingly authority to priests of any description." Had the sentiment expressed in this phrase been an original one, it would seem remarkable; but I found that some of the white inhabitants put it into his head, by telling an insidious falsehood respecting the King and Missionaries in Otaheite, so as to make it appear that the intentions of the latter were far from disinterested. He threw no obstacles in their way notwithstanding, but, on the contrary, encouraged his Queens and Chiefs to receive, after his own example, the instruction thus offered them with attention and respect. Such encouragement on the part of the King was most beneficial, and were it not for the dreadful vice of drunkenness to which he is habitually addicted, it is probable he would soon become a proficient in Christian knowledge. Upon him, meanwhile,

depends in a great measure the nominal conversion of his subjects, for many of them have repeatedly told the Missionaries, that before they can attend earnestly to the new religion, they must have the King's express declaration in its favour.

The chief obstacle to its progress is perhaps the enmity and unchristian conduct of the European and American residents, who are most of them directly or indirectly opposed to the cause of religion, as well from their habits of life, as because they perceive that when the natives become instructed in useful knowledge, their own mental superiority will cease, and with it the attendant influence which they now possess.

But these evils cure themselves; already has the bad conduct of the whites prepossessed the Sandwich Islanders against them, and their influence will no doubt daily decrease, in proportion as the march of religious civilization advances.

June 27.—This day I again visited the King, who lay as usual on the ground, in the costume of a common sailor. He was surrounded by sixteen Chiefs, sitting on chairs, and newly dressed in blue

nankeen clothes which had just been brought from China in an American brig. Some displayed watch-chains, and all seemed very proud of their new dresses, particularly as they were a present from his Majesty. They shook me by the hand very cordially, and with an air of most consequential satisfaction.

The principal Queen was engaged within the hut with Mr. Ellis in learning to read and write. The favourite Queen lay on the ground by the King, like him in the fashionable dishabille of the island. The swine, too, which I had before noticed, were still in the apartment, and quietly reposed not far from their Royal master and mistress: so much for the beauty of a state of nature!

June 28.—After dinner this day I went ashore and walked with a friend to Whyteete, a village on the sea-side, about five miles from the port. Our route lay first over an open plain, but we afterwards passed through cultivated fields, which are divided from each other by embankments. They are very extensive, and are planted with the tarrow-root, which appears to be the principal or rather sole object of cultivation. Artificial irrigation is

essential to the growth of this plant, upon which, in a great measure, the Sandwich Islanders subsist. It is regularly planted in rows, each one or more in a little bed of soft mud surrounded by water; and the whole field being inundated, banks from two to three or four feet in height are raised on every side, so as to keep the water within proper limits, and at the same time make a partition of property.

The leaf is large and flat, resembling that of a water-lily, as does the stalk, which seldom exceeds a foot in height. The root, which is the only part fit for eating, resembles the yam or manioc; it spoils if kept more than a few days. It is either roasted or boiled, or beat up with water in a calabash until it arrives at the consistency of thick paste, and the name of tarrow is then changed for that of *poey*.

The natives regarded us every where with much curiosity: they appeared remarkably kind and friendly, and readily accompanied us as guides.

Whyteete is rather a large village: some of the huts are well built and spacious, and most of them

have gardens containing melons, water-melons, and sweet potatoes. The King occasionally resides here, and considers it a sort of watering-place. It is situated in the midst of a thick grove of fine cocoa-nut trees growing along the sea-shore, and offers many advantages for fishing. We saw a great many canoes drawn up regularly on the beach, and others upon the sea with fishermen in them. Women and children were amusing themselves in the surf, and apparently giving way to unrestrained exuberance of animal spirits. Immediately above us towered a rocky hill and promontory called Diamond Point, which juts out into the sea, and forms a conspicuous and fine object, while the horizon was richly and beautifully illuminated by the rays of a setting sun.

As it became dark we approached the huts; and, though hungry, our appetites were not provoked by the raw fish and *poey* which the people were eating, and hospitably offered to us. Ignorance of each other's language prevented conversation; but they understood our wants, and kindly prepared, for our accommodation, clean mats and wrapping-cloths, called *tappers*, of country manufacture, in

an excellent hut; and we passed the night with the most perfect confidence and security.

June 29.—At daybreak we took a guide, and started again with the intention of ascending Diamond Hill. Having employed some time fruitlessly in searching upon the beach for shells, we ascended the almost precipitous declivity with great labour, and discovered that the other sides of the hill were scarcely less precipitous. On the summit is an immense basin or amphitheatre, at least a mile and a half in circumference, into the cavity of which we descended, and found abundance of melons and water-melons growing wild, upon which we breakfasted.

The prospect which presented itself from the verge of this hill was not less beautiful than extensive: a small but fertile plain, ten or twelve miles in length, tarrow-plantations, cocoa-nut and other trees, and uncultivated moss-ground, interspersed with villages and cottages. Among these Whyteete and Hannah-rourah, the latter distinguished by its port and shipping, were particularly observable. On the Western side the view was bounded by a range of mountains which divide the island into two

parts; and on the North rose nearer hills, whose ridges were broken into a succession of fertile valleys, each excelling the other in variety of foliage and richness of vegetation. Towards the South, the eye was lost in wandering over the great Pacific Ocean, which lay in calm unruffled magnificence, chequered only here and there by a solitary sail and some straggling canoes.

At the foot of the hill stood two *morais*, or ancient temples, such as Cook and Vancouver describe in the journals of their voyages. The ruins only now remain, to engage the researches of the future philosopher and antiquarian. They consisted of an oblong square enclosure, about sixty feet long by forty broad, the walls being built of loose stones (in a manner perfectly similar to what are called Picts' castles in Scotland,) about five feet high and three or four feet in thickness. I did not hear that these *morais* were ever roofed, but within their precincts undoubtedly were placed the idols of Pagan worship, and the altars upon which Pagan ignorance had been accustomed to immolate its victims.

We again passed through the neighbouring

tarrow-plantations in our walk homewards, and observed more than fifty men and women at work in one of the fields. Their only implement of agriculture is an iron hoe: this serves equally for planting and digging up the root, which they carry away in bundles upon large sticks borne by two men.

June 30, *Sunday.*—I went to church, and heard Divine service performed by Mr. Tyreman according to the Presbyterian form. Many of the natives and one of the Queens attended, from motives of curiosity. She was dressed, or rather undressed, after the fashion of the country, and was attended by several female servants, carrying fly-fans, spitting-box, and pipe.

In the afternoon I paid a visit to a Limanian lady, who had arrived with her husband in the English ship Wellington, from St. Blas, the preceding day. While I was in her hut one of the Queens called, and immediately sat down, shaking her violently by the hand, and laughing with the attendants, to her great surprise and my infinite amusement. This lady being rather inclined to the *embonpoint*, her appearance gave very general

satisfaction, and she was considered the handsomest European woman that had ever yet visited those shores.

July 1.—After dinner this day, I went on shore with a friend, and taking a native as our guide, with a basket of provisions and some other necessary things, we determined to make a short excursion up the country. Our course lay up a fertile valley, in a northerly direction, cultivated throughout; and I had occasion to admire the dexterity and neatness displayed in the numerous embankments and artificial channels through which the water of a rivulet was conducted to irrigate the neighbouring tarrow-fields.

Rocky eminences, clothed in wood and verdure, diversified the view, until, having continually ascended for about three miles, the valley became a narrow glen, the torrent foamed and cascaded over a bed of rocks, the hills increased in grandeur of appearance, and at length we were enveloped in a thick grove of trees, when the shades of night came on. Our guide then took us to a small hut, which the inhabitants immediately consented to resign for our use. It was very small

and low; we could hardly stand upright in it, and to enter had been obliged to crawl through a narrow aperture, upon hands and feet. We enjoyed a sound night's rest notwithstanding, and at daybreak renewed our journey, and soon arrived at a spot worthy of a Salvator's pencil or Walter Scott's descriptive pen.

We stood upon the brink of a tremendous precipice; above, below, and around us, frowning masses of black rock reared their terrific forms, partly bare, and partly overshadowed by stunted trees and low brushwood. On each side of the pass two impending crags towered above the rest in awful pre-eminence, and, to use a poet's words, might be said to guard,

"Like sentinels, enchanted land."

Beneath us lay an extensive tract of land; varied by hill and dale, groves and valleys, cultivated fields and verdant meadows, and bounded by the waters of the ocean, upon whose waves the morning sun cast a thousand glittering rays.

From a recess formed by Nature in the cliff, I was gazing with mute admiration, when a troop

of natives, male and female, came winding up the pass; and though unadorned by picturesque costumes, such as the traveller might expect to meet with in the mountains of Switzerland, yet their naked forms, as they bounded from rock to rock, had an effect much more novel and romantic. Their wild appearance suited such a spot, and it seemed that man in his savage state best harmonized with the wild and savage aspect of the surrounding scenery. Their shouts and cries upon perceiving us were also much in character. When they drew near, we exchanged the friendly salutation of Ar-rŏ-hă, with mutual courtesy, and, in return for the present of a knife, they gave us some baked tarrow-root for our frugal breakfast; after which we quitted, not without reluctance, this scene of natural enchantment. It is about ten miles distant from the port of Hannah-rourah.

From this spot we descended into the plain below, and finding ourselves on the north-east side of the island, we resolved to return homewards round its eastern extremity. The remainder of our walk this day, however, was more fatiguing

than agreeable. Exposed to the scorching rays of the sun, we passed over successive hills and plains, dry and barren, without trees or human habitations. We met occasional parties of natives, many of whom appeared to take a pleasure in accompanying us, always singing, or laughing, or chattering to each other. At one time they brought us water-melons, at another they carried us on their shoulders over the brooks which crossed our path; nothing, in short, could exceed the kind and lively attentions every where shown to us.

At six o'clock we reached a small village about a mile from the sea-shore, and easily obtained a tolerable hut to pass the night in: it belonged to an English sailor, who had established himself here. He received us with great civility, and killed a pig for our supper, which when baked, together with tarrow-root, furnished a very excellent repast.

The method of cooking it, which applies to other meats in the Sandwich Islands, deserves particular notice. A hole is first made in the ground, and filled up with wood and stones; fire being ap-

plied, the stones soon become sufficiently heated, and the pig is placed thereon until the hair is singed off; it is then scraped with a knife, and cleaned, and otherwise prepared for cooking. This done, the meat is again placed upon the hot stones, wrapped carefully up in folds of tarrow-leaves, and at the same time covered over with earth, so as to exclude the atmosphere. In this manner, after a certain time, the meat, whatever it may be, is baked, and to my palate in this case was far from disagreeable. The tarrow also I ate, and approved of; but never could prevail upon myself to taste the *poey*, so dirty and disgusting is their mode of making and eating it. A calabash-ful is commonly placed in the centre of a party, and the fingers of all are, with one accord and at the same time, busily employed by each individual in transporting his portion to his mouth.

The English sailor informed me that all the land in his neighbourhood belonged to Krimakoo, the King's Minister, familiarly called Billy Pitt, who had given him sixty acres. On part of this he had made a tarrow-plantation, which afforded the means of living; but the rest, he said, was use-

less. He seemed wretchedly poor; wore an old shirt and trowsers, more ragged and dirty than can be well conceived, and was so disfigured by a thick black beard of several weeks' growth, that he was really far more savage-looking than any of the islanders. He spoke very unfavourably of them, and said that they did all in their power to annoy and injure him; refusing to render him the least assistance, except for money. He had long been wishing to build a hut, but was unable to do so for want of materials, and therefore resided with his father-in-law, in whose grounds he helped to work.

Without placing much dependence upon the statements of this poor fellow, I was still interested by what he told me, and pitied the abject condition of dependence upon savages, to which he was now reduced. Among other causes of complaint, he inveighed bitterly and with truth against the tyranny of the Chiefs, who claim a right to possess all private property which is acquired upon their estates, and seize every thing belonging to the poorer classes for which they feel an inclination. He said, that whenever an indus-

trious person brought more land into cultivation than was necessary for his subsistence, or reared a good breed of pigs and poultry, the Chief, on hearing of it, had no hesitation in making the property his own. This takes place, independent of the customary presents and tribute; even every dollar obtained by traffic with strangers must be given up, on pain of the Chief's displeasure. Europeans are subject to the same oppression; and from this general insecurity of private property, arises in a great degree the absence of much industry or improvement, both among them and the native peasantry.

With regard to his person, he had never sustained the slightest injury, except on one occasion through his own misconduct, and then, as he had voluntarily rendered himself amenable to punishment, he had no right to complain.

He happened to be engaged at work cutting sandal-wood for Krimakoo for a stipulated pay; on the condition; however, of not touching a drop of liquor during the appointed time of service. The penalty for breach of promise was to be forty

lashes, besides the forfeiture of pay. Unfortunately, a boat's crew came on shore the same day, from some merchant-vessel, and Jack could not resist the temptation thus afforded him of drinking a few glasses of his favourite grog, never thinking that the Chief would in reality enforce the penalty: greatly to his surprise and annoyance, however, Krimakoo watched an opportunity for seizing him, and inflicted the punishment without pity, enjoying at the same time his temporary distress, and exposing him to the derision of the whole community,—a sad triumph indeed of barbarism over *civilized* life!

July 3.—At daybreak we resumed our walk, and perceived that the ridge of hills we had already crossed the preceding day, extended to the eastern extremity of the island; so that it became necessary to make another journey over them. The path, however, over this ridge being unfrequented, and the cliff becoming very lofty as well as precipitous, our difficulties were proportionably increased. Jack the sailor accompanied us, and proved greatly superior in usefulness to our Indian guide, who knew nothing of

this part of the country. Thick jungles of brush-wood occasionally impeded our progress, but afforded us the opportunity of seeing many indigenous trees and shrubs. Sandal-wood is not to be found on this side of the island. About two hours were spent in gaining the summit of the cliff; when, bidding adieu to our sailor friend, we descended through a valley thickly wooded, which sloped gradually downwards to the plain, and, after infinite fatigue, found ourselves once more on the sea-shore, at the south-eastern side of the island. We reposed for two hours in an untenanted hut; and tired nature's sweet restorer, balmy sleep, aided by the refreshing and delicious water-melon, gave us strength and spirits to pursue our journey. We soon passed a village mostly inhabited by fishermen, and containing perhaps one hundred huts. Here was a large salt-water lake, similar to those I have seen on the coast of Brazil. It was divided from the sea by a large embankment of sand, which on extraordinary occasions is probably overflowed by the tide. The inhabitants all came out to look at us as we passed, and we were followed, rather to our annoyance, by a mu-

merous troop of children, who seemed to consider our appearance highly diverting. Those who afterwards deserted, were quickly succeeded by others, and we never ceased to be without some such noisy escort. Our route lay along the seashore: nothing particularly attracted notice, except occasional huts, scattered here and there, together with several fine groves of cocoa-nut trees, until we reached Diamond Point. Having crossed its northern side, we kept to the right of Whyteete, and at length reached the port, towards sunset, without feeling any inconvenient degree of fatigue, though greatly oppressed during the journey by excessive heat. The distance we had travelled might be computed at fifty English miles; viz. eight miles the first day, eighteen the second, and twenty-four the third.

July 4. — This day was the anniversary of American Independence, and duly commemorated as such by the white inhabitants. In the forenoon, a suitable oration was delivered in the Missionary Chapel, according to the usage of the Americans, by Mr. Jones, the Consul: prayers also were offered up; and an ode composed

expressly for the occasion was recited, and met with great applause. About sixty persons of all nations, but principally Americans, sat down to dinner under a marquee tastefully decorated with flags and colours from the different ships. The King, dressed in a magnificent cloak of red and yellow feathers, and helmet of the same, sat on Mr. Jones's right hand, and the head Queen, Kameamolu, also equipped in the costume of the country, on his left. Krimakoo the Prime Minister, Coxe, and other principal Chiefs, were also there in feather cloaks, but no females except the Queen, and her attendants, who stood behind the chair of their royal mistress. The dinner consisted of turtle-soup, beef, kid, poultry, pork, and various kinds of fish; but no dog's meat, although in reality the islanders are very partial to that sort of food. The English and American Missionaries were all present, and the whole entertainment went off in an agreeable and orderly manner. Many toasts were proposed; and among others, Krimakoo gave, through the medium of an interpreter, "The health of all individuals present, and prosperity to all nations."

Any thing like a national festival is interesting to the heart and feelings of one absent from his native country; and without pretending to share in the peculiar patriotic sentiments of foreigners, it is impossible not to partake of the general enthusiasm which is called forth on such occasions.

In the evening a discharge of fire-works was intended, and had actually commenced, but the interference of the King immediately put a stop to them. Upon this, Mr. Jones and several others went and remonstrated, but without effect, for the King persisted resolutely though mildly in his previous determination.

He said, with truth, that in a place where all the houses were built of materials easily combustible, the danger of such playthings must be apparent, and that it was his duty to protect the property of his subjects from danger. Had his consent been asked before-hand, he would readily have given it, and at the same time have taken the requisite precautions; but at that late hour he thought it best, and felt obliged, though with reluctance, to prohibit the amusement altogether. Against such reasoning of course no objection

could be made, and that part of the evening's entertainment was given up. The anecdote, however, does honour to the King, inasmuch as it indicates an habitual feeling of concern for the general welfare of the society over which he presided,—a feeling seldom found, and scarcely supposed to exist, in the breasts of barbarous Indians!

July 8, *Monday*.—The wind at length proved favourable, and we secured a berth in the harbour within fifty yards of the shore. The entrance is very narrow; the ship ran once aground, but was carried off again by the tide without damage. An American pilot, appointed by the King, attends ships on entering the harbour; and the natives are ever ready to render every assistance in case of need. The English ship the Wellington, freighted by some Spaniards from St. Blas to Manilla, having sprung a leak, came here to repair, and obtained every facility and accommodation. The weather being calm, she was towed into port, and for that purpose several hundred natives were employed under the orders of Krimakoo, on a sand-bank which runs out in very shallow water to a considerable distance on one side

of the channel. The activity, skill, and indefatigable zeal of this Chief, were the just subject of surprise and admiration to all the foreigners present; nor could he have made a greater display of these valuable qualities, had the ship been his own.

July 10.—Being soon tired of remaining stationary, and wishing to see as much of the island as my limited time would permit, I accepted an offer made me by the Captain of a small schooner, belonging to Mr. Jones's establishment, which was engaged in bringing sandal-wood from other parts of the coast, and sailed with him this evening, in company with an American ship, the Tartar.

July 11.—Having enjoyed a most agreeable sail by moonlight, we this morning entered a small bay called Why-arouah, on the N. E. side of the island, formed by two reefs of rocks, which run out parallel a considerable way into the sea, and between which two small rivers discharge themselves. Hence the name Why-arouah; *Whye* in the country language signifying water, and *arouah* the numeral two. Here a chief named Coxe, who is one of the richest and most powerful in

the island, resides; and as he was the person from whom our Captain was to obtain the sandal-wood, our first visit was of course paid to him. He bears the name and office, if it can be so called, of Governor. His hut stands on the sea-shore, and was sufficiently large to accommodate the whole of our party, consisting of several Americans, besides myself.

He is a large, athletic, handsome man, of an ingenuous and good-humoured countenance, apparently indolent and reserved, unless particularly roused to action: he speaks English better than any other native I had yet conversed with, and welcomed me in the kindest manner. His hut might be about twenty feet square, and proportionably high, with an entrance aperture on two sides, and one above. It was fitted up as usual with mats: in the midst of it he himself sat on the ground, having no other covering than the *maro*, and was surrounded by attendants. By his side sat an intelligent-looking American sailor, who had been upwards of twenty years on these islands, and attached himself particularly to Coxe, as his patron and protector; to preserve whose fa-

vour the most abject submission and adulation were necessary requisites, even to the extent of getting drunk, *bon gré, mal gré*, with his liege lord and patron, whenever he was thereunto desired.

Thus sycophancy follows power in the hut of an Indian chief, as naturally as in the palace of an European prince or Oriental despot; and to gratify the vanity, or pride, or vices, of the rich and powerful, is the road to favour with equal certainty in all quarters of the globe. Yet, what greater degradation can there be, than for one born and educated in a Christian country to be voluntarily subject to all the whims and caprices of an unenlightened and half-savage Indian?

In the cool of the evening I took a walk along the banks of the river, and was delighted with the beauty and fertility of the whole district. Plantations of tarrow, maize, tobacco, sweet potatoes, yams, melons, and water-melons, everywhere met the eye, all neatly arranged, and enclosed, some by stone walls, others by fences. Of trees, the cocoa-nut, bread-fruit, banana, cotton, castor, *coëy*, and *teĕ* species, were most plentiful. The latter is a shrub peculiar, I believe, to these islands, but

quite distinct from the Chinese tea-tree. The river, in most places about one hundred feet wide and not very deep, winds its still limpid way through this cheerful scene of cultivation, where the huts, rising at intervals from among small groves of bananas and bread-fruit trees, vary in a picturesque and lively manner the soft harmonious touches of nature.

July 12.—I slept at Coxe's, who entertained us hospitably. We had several kinds of excellent fish baked for breakfast, and among the rest some uncommonly large flying fish. I took another and longer walk up the country, and met with the same abundant cultivation which I had before observed elsewhere. The natives here took little notice of us, which I attributed to their constant intercourse with the crews of ships coming for sandal-wood. In less frequented places, they showed greater curiosity, and, I may add, greater kindness; for it was not unusual to receive little presents of fruit, particularly of melons, gratuitously offered as we passed their grounds. In this more frequented part, however, if I asked for any thing, they held up their fore-finger and thumb in the

form of a dollar, and would not even take other money in payment for their goods. I usually carried knives about me, and found them very serviceable on such occasions. They are often, indeed, more prized than dollars; as the latter are of necessity delivered up, sooner or later, to the Chief whom they serve.

In the afternoon Coxe, at our request, gave what is called a *Hourah-hourah*, or festival, similar to those described by Cook and Vancouver, but comparatively insignificant both as to the numbers and skill of the performers.

Two rows of women were formed, twelve in each, who sang in wild and not very sweet tones, and at the same time made corresponding motions with their hands and bodies. They performed with great animation, beating their breasts, and changing their respective attitudes with wonderful agility, and always in the most perfect unison both of tone and gesture. The volubility of their recitation was surprising, particularly as we were informed that the chief part was delivered improvisatore on the spur of the occasion. The whole, however, was too lascivious and indelicate to ad-

mit of a very minute description. The spectators formed a circle round them, the *coup d'œil* of which presented altogether an interesting scene. The spot selected for the entertainment lay in the midst of a small and verdant meadow, at the distance of about half-a-mile from the sea-shore. Close adjoining, the river before-mentioned rolled gently through the plain, reflecting in its limpid surface the broad shadows of the trees that overhung its banks, and varied here and there by the canoe of some rude islander, hastening from the opposite shore to partake of the day's revel.

I gazed with alternate wonder upon these natural beauties, and upon the motley multitude of barbarians who surrounded me. On one side stood the noble Chief and his attendant myrmidons, listening eagerly to the Bacchanalian strains, which were often specially addressed to him; on the other side his wife and mistresses, in the midst of a number of female friends, or, to speak poetically, ministering nymphs, each robed in the simplest of all costumes. Some wore necklaces of glass beads, or of hair finely platted and doubled to a great thickness, from

which were suspended pieces of polished whalebone by way of ornament. Others had garlands of yellow flowers gracefully braided round their heads, and small looking-glasses in their hands, in the use of which they take great delight. Others, of maturer age, had their hair besmeared with lime and water, or some such mixture, in a way that made no agreeable addition to their faded beauty.

The majority of the spectators, male and female, smoked incessantly, and used for that purpose a curved wooden pipe, not more than three or four inches long and an inch in thickness. Here a party lay sprawling on the ground; there, another pressed towards the performers: all seemed to talk, and sing, and laugh immoderately—giving way to an unrestrained exuberance of animal spirits, heightened, in some instances perhaps, by partial intoxication. The men were less vivacious and diverting than the women, of whom they took little notice, and no flirtations passed between them. To the *maro*, commonly worn round the middle, was added, by some of the richer individuals, a loose cloth covering of British manufac-

ture, or a blanket thrown over the shoulders. Their bodies were often, but not universally, tattooed. I observed one man, who had the exact half of his body ornamented in this manner from the top of the forehead to the sole of the foot. No spears or implements of war were carried by any one, unless we apply that term to the walking-staffs of which they make habitual use.

Our party, consisting of English and Americans, did not excite much curiosity among the native bystanders. We understood, however, that the women often enjoyed their loudest transports of merriment at our expense, quizzing us without mercy, but never with ill-nature, whilst the singers honoured us occasionally with a place in their extemporaneous compositions.

Thus they went on for two or three hours in the same strain, until, worked up into a state of wild enthusiastic excitement,—in attaining which speedily, and continuing in it for the longest possible time, the excellence of their performance, according to the taste of the native dramatic connoisseurs, is reckoned greatly to consist,—at length down they sank, exhausted by the violence of their

efforts; and the audience, by this time, also satiated with the day's entertainment, began to disperse in all directions.

I had been sitting apart from the festive scene, under the shade of some banana-trees, whence I could view all that was passing around me, and enjoy my own reveries undisturbed. I remained watching the various groups of natives, as they passed the river and returned in merry mood to their respective dwellings, when the friendly chief Coxe came up with his followers, and invited me again to pass the night under his hospitable roof. The evening was, however, so beautiful, that I preferred leaving him to enjoy his drinking-bout (that being a necessary conclusion to the festival) with those for whom it had the same attractions, and walked with two American gentlemen, to visit an Indian acquaintance whose habitation was three or four miles distant.

The situation had been chosen with taste, in a romantic dell, within sight of a rivulet which murmurs through the grove. The hut was built in the usual manner, of wood thatched with hay;

the interior being neatly lined with mats, and kept by the attention of the possessor in a state of perfect cleanliness and comfort. The repast prepared for us, which consisted of baked fowl and fish, was spread out under a large bread-fruit tree before the door, while the whole family, including seven or eight playful children, looked on with eager curiosity, each endeavouring in some way to anticipate our wants, but every now and then bursting out into loud fits of laughter, in which we most readily joined. One brushed away the flies, another offered a tobacco-pipe, a third a spitting-box, and, what was most astonishing, perhaps, none petitioned for any present.

Clean mats, and pillows of the same material, with large and beautifully white *tappers*, were spread for us in the principal apartment of the hut, when we wished to retire to rest. It was not without regret that we left, the following morning, such comfortable quarters. In order to recompense the worthy old Indian for his civilities, we bought some dollars' worth of *maros* and *tappers*, of different colours, as agreeable memorials of our

visit, and specimens of Sandwich Island manufacture.

July 13.—We returned early to Why-arouah, and found our friend Coxe half-stupefied from the effects of the preceding night's debauch, yet determined, as he said, to keep it up a few days longer. He had used a bottle of spirits, which I left under his care, and requested more, so that I was obliged to surrender my whole stock, which, I had indeed, brought with me for the express purpose of propitiating the favour of the natives, himself among the rest. Being desirous of walking to that part of the country where the sandal-wood is cut, and inspecting some ancient monuments, of which a curious traditionary history had been related to me, I obtained a guide to show me the way, and started this day, in the company of an American fellow-passenger.

A walk of three miles over the plain brought us to a deep ravine overhung by rocky precipices, with plantations of tarrow and groves of the bread-fruit tree below, and watered by a small mountain-torrent. Beyond this ravine the plain continued for several miles, without trees or cultiva-

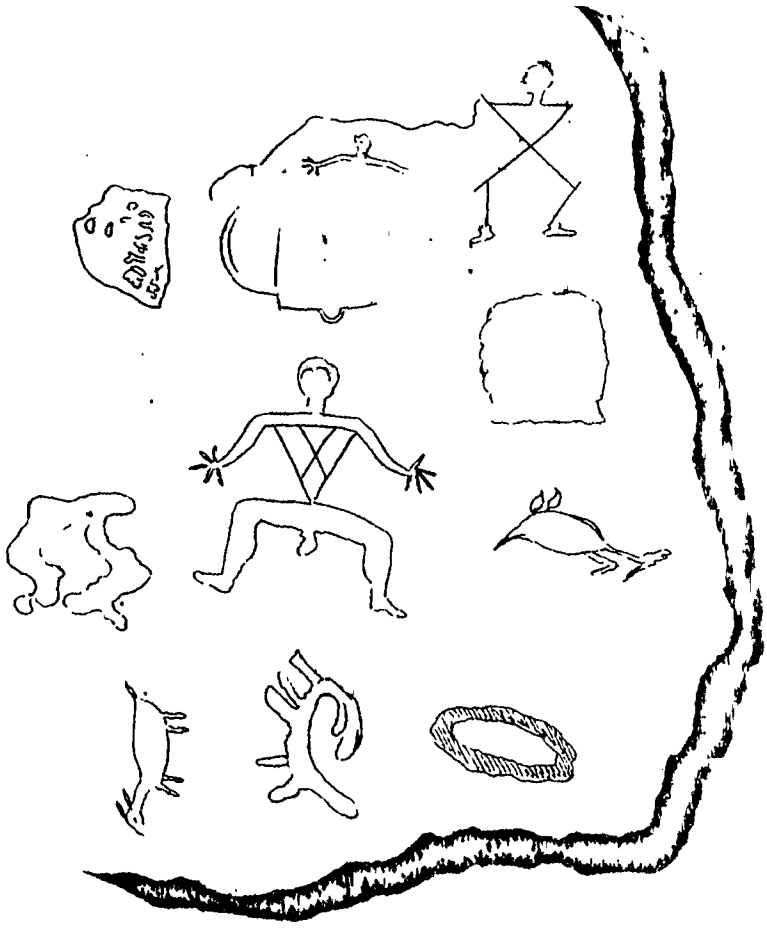
tion, covered only by high grass, to which in many places the natives had set fire. At length, after walking about twelve miles, a sudden turn opened to our view three spacious valleys, each assuming the form of a vast natural amphitheatre, begirt with woods and gigantic masses of stone from the summit downwards; when we descried the smoke of an Indian hut rising at no great distance, and there determined to take up our abode for the night.

July 14.—This morning we again started at daybreak, and having walked three or four miles farther, over the same uncultivated uninhabited plain, the country all at once changed its aspect, and presented a bold outline of hills, with alternate and thickly-wooded valleys. Here our guide pointed out to us the monument of ancient times, which had been described by Coxe and his American friend as well worthy to be seen, both on its own account, and from its connexion with the traditionary history of the country.

I had expected to find a monument of great magnitude; instead of which I saw nothing but a flat stone, resembling an English tomb-stone,

about five feet broad by six or seven in length. The surface was very smooth, and upon it I discovered many rude representations of men and animals, similar to those which have from time to time been met with and described among the Indians of America. Many were defaced, and in others I could trace no resemblance to any known objects, either animate or inanimate: the stone itself was very imperfect, pieces of it having evidently been broken off on different sides, which I learnt from the guide had been done by the neighbouring inhabitants, in order to convert the materials into knives, mirrors, pots, and other domestic utensils, which were always fabricated from stone in former times, previous to the introduction of iron by foreign traders. Annexed is a drawing, taken on the spot.

The tradition, as related to me by Coxe, is briefly this:—Many hundred moons ago, a race of people, more warlike and savage in their habits of life than the other inhabitants, occupied this part of the island. One Chief, Herimino by name, who exercised supreme authority



ANCIENT STONE found in the INTERIOR of WOAHOO.

Pub.d by Charles Knight, Pall Mall East, June 1825.

over them, was celebrated far and wide for courage and cruelty, and under him they might be said to live entirely by war and pillage. But that which most distinguished them, and spread terror among their more peaceful neighbours, was their avowed cannibalism, the prisoners whom they took in war being always butchered, to satisfy the cravings of this unnatural appetite.

The habitation of the said Chief was situated on the very spot since called after him Herimino, where I now stood, and the stone in question served as an altar upon which the unfortunate human victims were sacrificed. Near it a large round hole, about twenty feet in circumference, and still clearly discernible, was pointed out as the place where the *kanakas*, or men, were cooked and devoured by the Chief and his adherents. The marked expression of horror on the countenance of my guide bore witness to his own belief of this story, as by dint of signs, and the repetition of a few words that I understood, he enabled me to trace the vestiges here described.

The conclusion of the history is, that these bloody-minded barbarians were at length driven by superior force from the plain into their mountain fastnesses. There Herimino fell by the hand of his brother-in-law, who had some private feud and motive of enmity against him. His followers, however, still continued in possession of their fastnesses, whence they issued from time to time, like the Scottish children of the mist, to wreak their vengeance upon all who had the misfortune to fall into their hands. They were not finally extirpated till about forty years ago, when the principal Chief of the island, previous to King Tamahama-hah, pursued and killed them all, except one man, whose life accidentally was spared. One of this man's children is now a menial dependant upon the present King, and in no respect distinguishable from any of the other natives.

Since that period, according to my informants, cannibalism has been exploded in the Sandwich Islands, and even its former existence may be considered as the vice of a particular race, whose ferocity rendered them objects of terror and aversion to all the other inhabitants. Whether that race

were extinct or not when Cook made his appearance at Owhyhee, cannot be ascertained without more correct dates than tradition has preserved: but that the history here given, upon the authority of Coxe, is authentic, admits not, I should think, of any doubt.

We returned the same way to Why-arouah, and found that Coxe, having exhausted all his stock of gin, had been obliged to defer the termination of his carousal to another time. He was in high good humour, however, and busily employed in weighing the sandal-wood on the beach, and shipping it on board the two vessels which lay in the roadstead. At a little distance from his own hut was a large store-house, not less than fifty feet in length by thirty in breadth, and about thirty feet high, where the sandal-wood was piled up, and kept ready for embarkation; work-people of both sexes and all ages were employed in carrying it down to the beach. The Chief and his attendants directed their operations; and one confidential man, whose duty it was to see fair play, stood over the weighing-machine, with the American Captain for whose ship the freight was destined.

Coxe afterwards gave us a dinner at his hut, but preferred taking his own meal alone, in the usual manner of the country. I had much conversation with him, through the medium of his American protegé; and, among other things, heard him express his recollection of the surprise occasioned by Captain Cook's first arrival. The appearance of a three-masted vessel, when it first hove in sight, could only be accounted for, by supposing it to be a floating island, and the term used to express that object in their language has been ever since applied to ships. In speaking of Captain Cook's death, he shook his head, and said, it was *ouri maitai*, not good, in those concerned, and that they were afterwards sorry for it. He was himself at that time a mere boy; but the event of the arrival of a new race of men amongst them, was too important not to be deeply impressed on his memory.

He considers his country benefited by the changes thereby introduced; and, in proof of it, adduced the magnitude of his own wealth and possessions, which were the result of trade with the Americans. He is said to be worth

twenty or thirty thousand dollars, and derives an increasing yearly income from the sale of sandal-wood, which grows upon his land. He is very covetous and fond of money withal, and knows how to drive a hard bargain. The mention of his wealth and power as very great, gives him infinite satisfaction; and when some one had the boldness to say, that in real importance he was superior to the King, his vanity seemed not a little gratified.

He once expressed a desire to go to England, but felt unwilling to abandon so many comforts already in possession for an uncertain good. "Here," said he, "I have a good house, good eating, good drinking, good wives, and good friends; what more need man desire? In another and strange country, all kinds of misfortunes might happen to me." I assured him, that in England he would meet with a kind and hospitable reception, and our American companions said the same of the United States.

I then mentioned my desire to visit Owhyhee, and asked him to give me a passage in his schooner, a small vessel of forty tons, pur-

chased by him from the Americans. He consented, and agreed to bring me back by a given time; and I should have closed with his terms immediately, had not all the Americans present concurred in dissuading me. They said it was impossible to depend with safety upon the words and promises of these people, for that their plans were as variable as their humours and caprices; and after depositing me at Owhyhee, they might resolve to keep the schooner there for months, or to send her to some other islands. The risk of being left behind by the *America* was not worth incurring, for the mere gratification of curiosity; and I therefore, with great reluctance, gave up my anxious wish of visiting Karaka-koah Bay, the scene of Captain Cook's murder, and of ascending the Mountain of Mounah-roah—a mountain hitherto untrodden by the foot of Europeans, but, from its great altitude and its volcano, justly considered as one of the most remarkable in the world.

Happy! thrice happy, the traveller who first has the satisfaction of exploring its heights, and discovering the crater of that volcano, which is only known to exist by the vestiges of ancient erup-

tions scattered throughout the island. The difficulty of the ascent would be very great, as the sides of the mountain are guarded by thick forests, without paths or guides, and far away from all human habitations. The cold there is so excessive, that the natives themselves could not endure such a transition from the heat of the plains below; and they are besides so terrified at the idea of encountering the wild cattle, which roam in prodigious numbers through the woods, that no threats or entreaties would be likely to induce them to penetrate far with you. These cattle are descended from the stock left by Vancouver, and have multiplied to a prodigious extent; but the inhabitants make no use of them, and they are now absolutely become *ferœ naturæ*. It would require a party of foreigners therefore, in order to succeed in the attempt, with unlimited time at their disposal; and even then perhaps they might meet with precipices or other natural obstacles, which no labour could surmount;—but "*nil mortalibus arduum est*," and few objects are unattainable by those who possess the genuine spirit of enterprise.

On the evening of the same day, I bade adieu to Governor Coxe, as he was styled, and went to visit an American sailor, who had been established upwards of five years in this island, and cultivated a small farm belonging to that Chief. His property consisted of a few acres of tarrow-plantations, in the midst of a fine orchard of bread-fruit and other trees, with pasturage for a large herd of goats; and these, in addition to some pigs and poultry, rendered him rich in the eyes of all his neighbours. His cottage was well built, and being furnished with matting, we passed the night very comfortably in it. He liked his situation altogether, and thought it very preferable to a seaman's life; but complained, nevertheless, of the insecure tenure by which property is held in this country. He told me, as others had done, that he was afraid of making any improvements and putting more land into cultivation, lest his prosperity should excite the cupidity of the Chief, who would not hesitate, if he chose it, to appropriate the whole to himself. As it was, he had to bear every sort of petty exaction, according to the caprices of the Chief or the instigations of his ad-

visers, and only retained possession of his property by acceding to every demand, and propitiating with continual presents the favour of the great man.

July 15.—This and the two succeeding days I devoted to rest and quiet, reading, and writing my Journal, and examining at all points of view the picturesque beauties of the landscape. Eye never beheld, nor did pen ever describe, a more lovely and enchanting spot. Groves of bread-fruit and other trees, through which a limpid river murmured gently along, and glittered at intervals amid the foliage; Indian cottages scattered here and there, with their rude inhabitants passing and repassing in various directions; hills, to which distance lent enchantment—here clothed in perpetual verdure, there broken into valleys and projecting eminences, only equalled in number by the numberless tints of light and shade upon their sides, varied at each instant by successive gleams of sunshine; a clear blue sky, not excelled in brightness by that of Italy, and "airs, vernal airs," dispensing coolness and fragrance through the atmosphere:—these were some of the many

charms which characterized the spot, and made hours swiftly pass away as I roved from walk to walk, and from hut to hut, comparing the rich exuberance of Nature with the moral wilderness that the mind of man presented in such an uncivilized state of society.

At first, the habits and manners of the people among whom I was thus strangely thrown, possessed the all-powerful attraction of novelty; but as that wore off, indifference succeeded to curiosity, and feelings of interest were by degrees exchanged for those of disgust.

I then courted solitude; but even the loveliest scenery soon loses its exhilarating influence over the animal spirits, when there is no congenial mind to share the pleasure it occasions, and I therefore returned towards the hut to seek diversion in the songs, and prattle, and merriment of the natives who accompanied our party.

Two or three of my American companions had their wives with them, and we formed altogether rather a motley assemblage in the hut of our host, each extended on the ground, in the most convenient position; some drinking out of cala-

bash bowls, others helping themselves with their fingers to the *poey*, and others again, more squeamish, awkwardly endeavouring to substitute European fashions for those of the country. The women were always full of vivacity and fun, laughing and chattering with unceasing volubility. When not eating, they generally played at whist, which appeared to be the universally favourite game, and at which they sometimes played for hours together, never betting nor gambling in any way.

Two or three times a day the whole party of natives, male and female, repaired to the river, and amused themselves with bathing. The women are excellent swimmers and divers, to which they are habituated from their earliest childhood, insomuch that one would almost think the water was their natural element.

July 18, 19.—During these two days I experienced all the petty miseries and discomforts of sickness in such a situation; every possible attention was however shown to me, and I happily felt sufficiently well to start again the following morning, July 20, on my return to Hannahrourah. Before parting, I purchased from my

host half-a-dozen fine milch goats at three dollars, and a dozen kids at one dollar each, which he engaged to deliver safely on board the *America*. The breed of goats is excellent, and there is great abundance of them.

We passed over a long uncultivated plain, varied only by occasional ravines, for a distance of twenty miles, and about two o'clock reached Pearl River, so called from the pearls which are found in small quantities in its bed. The specimens I saw appeared to be of a very inferior quality. The sea here forms a small bay, which has the appearance of a salt-water lake, being landlocked on every side except at the narrow entrance. Two or three small streams, too insignificant to merit the appellation of rivers, discharge their united waters into the bay, which is full six miles in length and two in breadth. The adjoining low country is overflowed both naturally and by artificial means, and is well stocked with tarrow-plantations, bananas, &c. The land belongs to many different proprietors; and on every estate there is a fishpond surrounded by a stone wall, where the fish are strictly preserved

for the use of their rightful owners, or tabooed, as the natives express it. One of particularly large dimensions belongs to the King.

A civilized native, whose business it is to supply the shipping and foreign residents at Hannah-rourah with fish, eggs, poultry, pigs, and other provisions, accommodated us in his hut. He talked English perfectly well, having made two or three voyages in American ships; but his knowledge had rendered him conceited and vulgarly familiar, and we were not pleased with such a specimen of Indian civilization. He lodged us comfortably, however, and supplied all our wants to the best of his ability; and we soon retired to rest after a sultry day's walk, with much satisfaction.

A death had recently taken place in the family, and this being the night of the full moon, a party of old women sat up chanting funeral dirges for several hours. Each sang a few stanzas (if their rude compositions can be so termed) by turns, and then united in a general chorus. There was something lugubre and

solemn in these lamentations, notwithstanding the total disregard of melody in the singers; and I was pleased at thus witnessing among modern barbarians the prevalence of a custom which we read of as existing among barbarous nations in the remotest ages of antiquity.

July 21.—This day I remained quietly in the same quarters, feeling too weak to pursue my journey with tolerable comfort. I walked about two miles with a troop of women and children, who gladly escorted me to see a spring and water-fall, of which much mention had been made. The cascade in itself is insignificant; the scenery around it beautiful, but so resembling the scenery of other places which I have mentioned, that a minute description of it here would be unnecessary. My laughter-loving companions were full of play and merriment, and dashed into the water the moment we arrived, with simultaneous impetuosity, shouting out and singing in the wildest manner, and urging me to share their diversions. They afterwards accompanied me home, in the same frolicksome mood, and I was altogether highly diverted by such a lively

representation of primitive simplicity, good humour, and enjoyment.

If exemption from care, and an unceasing flow of animal spirits, constitute happiness, then surely might these rude islanders be pronounced superlatively happy. But let them not be called, as the enemies to human improvement would insinuate,

> "Yet happiest, if they seek no happier state,
> And know to know no more."

That remark can only be applied with truth to a state of virtuous innocence,—a state from which all human societies, particularly uncivilized ones, are far, very far removed. True happiness, therefore, cannot be supposed to reside where vice, and folly, and ignorance abound; and blessed indeed is the change to Christian knowledge and moral habits, which is already beginning to take place, and will, it is to be hoped, hereafter become perpetual among them!

July 22.—We resumed our journey towards the port at daybreak, and arrived at noon. Our route lay over an uncultivated plain within view of the sea, diversified by occasional ravines, where

the vegetation was very luxuriant, and set off by many thick groves of cocoa-nut trees. We passed a salt lake, two or three miles in circumference, and separated by a wide embankment of sand from the sea. It was full of crystallized masses of salt, which glittered in the sunbeams, and looked at a distance like ice covered with snow. Here the inhabitants of Hannah-rourah and the neighbouring country supply themselves with this necessary article of life, and we collected some beautiful specimens of it in a crystallized state.

We passed the remainder of the day, after our arrival, on ship-board, and the pleasure of finding ourselves again at home after an absence of twelve days was enhanced by the prospect of a speedy departure; for now that the novelty of an Indian life had worn off, its coarser and least agreeable features became daily more and more perceptible, and the society of the natives, where it did not disgust, was as least monotonous, tiresome, and uninteresting.

July 23.—I paid a round of visits to the King and his Queens, the Missionaries, and other American residents. His Majesty was not intoxicated,

as at the time of my first visit, but lay asleep by the side of his favourite Queen, under the shed already described, dressed in a common sailor's shirt and trowsers. Round them were the usual attendants, singing and brushing away the flies. Not wishing to disturb their repose, I passed into the inner apartment, where the principal Queen, or rather *the Queen* (she alone being considered as his real wife), was at work among her women: she was dressed in a loose coloured chintz gown, put on without any regard to European notions of decency in the adjustment of it. She continued, however, to retain the tapper ceinture as a kind of petticoat.

They all lay sprawling together on the matted floor, with slates and spelling-books about them; and she in particular evinced much apparent interest in her studies. She addressed me with much cordiality, spoke two or three words in broken English, and inquired where I had been for so many days. She then showed me her writing, and said that my countryman Mr. Ellis was her master, and that the King, though too indolent to study himself, was anxious that she

should learn. We were beginning to become very good friends, when unluckily at this moment she took a fancy to a gold ring, the present of a friend, upon my finger, and wished me to sell or give it her. I refused, and my refusal vexed her, so that my visit terminated rather awkwardly, and I was glad to hasten away to pay my respects elsewhere.

The Missionaries welcomed me again most kindly to their humble yet hospitable roof, and I passed a very pleasant evening in their society. They also had made a tour round the island, and it was very satisfactory to compare my notes with theirs. The kindness and hospitality of the natives had been equally extended to us all, and called forth our united praises. They had met and conversed with the ex-high-priest, Heva-heva, the duties of whose office naturally expired when the present King abolished the Taboo system of idolatry. They thought him affable, and by no means prejudiced against them; but he announced his own intention of waiting until the King should make a public declaration in favour of the new religion, before he took its merits

into consideration, which, indeed, seemed to be the general sentiment entertained throughout the island.

July 24.—This day I paid a visit to the chief Krimakoo, *alias* Billy Pitt, so called from his great skill and influence in directing the King's Government. He was sitting in his hut, surrounded by a large family of women, children and attendants, and occupied in the examination of his fishing apparatus, lines, hooks, &c. The latter, as commonly used by the natives, are made of bone or mother-of-pearl, from one to four or five inches in length, which glitter in the water, and attract fish without the assistance of a bait.

He had a great number of these hooks in his possession, putting a high fancy price upon them, and refusing to part with any for less than a dollar each. He showed me some of the feather cloaks, used upon great occasions by the Chiefs; one of which he wore at the public dinner already mentioned, on the 4th of July. They reach from the shoulders to the feet, and were manufactured antecedent to the discovery of the islands by Captain Cook. He refused to sell them at

any price; and I afterwards found that no such purchase could be made under several hundred dollars. For one small bunch of feathers, similar to those of which the cloaks are made, I had to pay one dollar.

The character of this Chief for firmness, enterprise, and activity, as well as natural shrewdness, stands deservedly high in the estimation both of foreigners and of his own countrymen. He was for many years the confidential adviser and supporter of old Tama-hama-hah, who left his successor injunctions to consider him always in the same light. The advice of the departed King has been faithfully adopted; and no business of his successor Reho-Reho can be transacted, unless Krimakoo is made acquainted with it, and favourably inclined towards the persons interested or the object in view.

July 25.—A cutter of a hundred and twenty tons arrived from Fanning's Island, commanded by Lieutenant Kent of the Royal Navy. This officer had been appointed by Governor Macquarrie, in New South Wales, to take charge of a small schooner mounting eight guns; which, in fulfil-

ment of a promise made by Vancouver, had been sent as a present from the King of England to the King of the Sandwich Islands. He had accordingly left Port Jackson, and after touching at New Zealand and Otaheite, where he took up Messrs. Ellis, Tyreman and Bennet, he executed his commission in Woahoo in the month of April last. Since that time he had been on a voyage to a small island lately discovered in these seas, and called, after the name of the discoverer, Fanning's Island. They found no inhabitants on it, but great abundance of *beach la mar*, a commodity suited to the Chinese market. He now returned, with the intention of proceeding shortly on his voyage back to Otaheite and New South Wales.

July 26.—Visited Menini, a white resident, who acted as the King's interpreter, and by his industry—a rare virtue among the Europeans here—had become a rich and useful member of the community. He was a Spaniard by birth, and spoke English remarkably well. He gave me some wine made by himself from a grape grown in the country, which he had been the first to introduce. He showed me his farm-yard, and grounds adjoining,

stocked with a herd of fine cattle, the only cattle in the island, and with goats, pigs, poultry, and pigeons, and some horses of an inferior South American breed, of his own importation. He had several plantations of tarrow and sweet potatoes in the interior; and besides the vine, was endeavouring to cultivate other vegetable productions, such as the cotton-tree, maize, pease, beans, &c. Of all he showed me samples; some I had seen successfully cultivated elsewhere.

He spoke much in favour of the fertility of the soil, and assured me that if the natives could by any means be forced into habits of regular industry, they might turn the whole country into a garden, and export cotton to China. He entertained no hopes, however, of such a change. I remarked that it might gradually be brought about by the influence of religion on their minds and moral conduct, which he did not appear to understand; nor was he disposed to depart from the prejudices of his associates against the Missionaries, to whose exertions in the work of civilizing these people he was evidently opposed. As a trader and farmer, his industry, sobriety, and

good management, were highly meritorious, and it would be well for the country if there were many such settlers in it; but in other respects, his mind soared very little, if at all, above his Indian neighbours.

He lived, like the other white inhabitants, with a native female, by whom he had one grown-up son, a fine handsome young man, who had come out as steward in the American brig Post Captain, and had sailed with me round Cape Horn. He was now staying with his father, and likely to prove a clever useful assistant to him. Menini was supposed to be worth thirty or forty thousand dollars, amassed during a residence of thirty years in the country: but he held his property by rather a feeble tenure, namely, the King's good will and pleasure; and might at any one moment be deprived of it, without the possibility of obtaining redress. His riches and frugal habits of life were calculated to make him many enemies, and he was, in fact, universally unpopular.

Sunday, 28*th*.—I attended Divine service, and heard a very good discourse delivered by Mr. Bingham. Not many of the white residents were

present, and but few natives. Kaahumanu, one of the chieftainesses, and a sister of Coxe, who had distinguished herself some time before in burning the few remaining idols and destroying every vestige of idolatry at Owhyhee, was specially invited, and had promised to attend. A sudden whim, however, seized her, to go to Whyteete; and there she spent the day, bathing, and playing in the surf with a host of equally frolicksome companions. Coxe, who had now returned from Why-arouah, also promised to attend, but was obliged to stay away in consequence of sudden illness.

Monday, 29*th*.—Upon visiting the King to-day, the house really presented a novel and interesting sight. At least thirty natives of both sexes were present, most of them, the King and his Queens among the rest, engaged in learning to read and write. Two of the Otaheitean converts attended the other Missionaries, and gave instructions to the general satisfaction. Several of the other white inhabitants were likewise present, and we were one and all much diverted by the childish eagerness of the new pupils to execute their respective

tasks, and to show off to us strangers their recently-acquired learning. The King seemed least likely to become a proficient, in consequence of his great natural indolence and variable disposition, though not less ready to encourage others who might be more studiously inclined; and he actually commanded that one hundred copies of the Spelling-book should be given to his people.

I believe the novelty of the thing to be the chief attraction now; and when that is worn off, few of the grown-up persons are likely to make much progress in scholarship. From the children better results may be confidently anticipated; and Mrs. Bingham's school, containing upwards of fifty pupils, is already far enough advanced to give a satisfactory assurance of ultimate success. The young Prince, Kau-ke-oule, heir and nephew to the King, about twelve years old, is one of the most promising scholars; and the importance of giving him such an education as may render his Government beneficial to the whole community hereafter, is very sensibly felt by his instructors.

During this and the following days, I was bu-

sily employed in preparing for the voyage and adding to my collection of curiosities. Mats of various patterns, the best of which come from Atooi, tapper-cloths, and *maros*, bows and arrows, spears, paddles, fishing-hooks and lines, hair-necklaces and bone ornaments, tobacco-pipes, feather-brushes and fans, stone knives, and other articles of local manufacture, were purchased without difficulty. Feather-cloaks and helmets were not to be had on any terms; and I searched throughout the whole village, making every possible inquiry in vain for one of the ancient idols. The people expressed great astonishment at my desire to possess what they had themselves ceased to value, and seemed even affronted by my supposing that they could have preserved any such antiquated relics of pristine ignorance and superstition.

How variable and uncertain is the mind of man! how subject to fluctuations of opinion, in uncivilized as well as civilized communities! A few years back, this people would have refrained, with superstitious horror and dread, from the infringement of a single Taboo ceremony, and never approached their *morais* or temples except with

feelings of mingled terror and veneration. They now entertain sentiments as strong the other way, and despise the very idols which till lately they adored: the mere mention of them appears ridiculous, and scarcely a vestige remains to satisfy the curiosity of strangers. If to reason from analogy is not presumptuous, it may be fairly questioned whether a similar change might not be brought about, by the operation of similar causes, in other Pagan countries,—namely, a despotic monarch's will! How feeble must be the tie, where the ceremonial and not the doctrine constitutes the essential point of religious obligation!

One ancient relic which I was fortunate enough to secure deserves particular remark, not so much for its abstract value, as for the associations connected with it. It is generally well known, that after the death of Captain Cook the inhabitants repented them of the deed, and sincerely lamented a man whose previous conduct had been such as to secure their admiration and respect. To perpetuate his memory, therefore, they resolved to deify him; and accordingly made an appropriate image, which for many years was actually carried

in procession round the island of Owhyhee, under the appellation of *the Wandering God.* This image, during the procession, was immediately preceded by a person bearing in his hand a spear, to which was prefixed an instrument containing twenty lashes, each a yard in length, woven with the same sort of feathers that are used in the manufacture of cloaks and idols. He brandished it before the image, as it were to clear the way; and any person who had the misfortune to be touched by it, was summarily put to death as guilty of violating the Taboo regulation. This identical instrument is now in my possession, and the annexed drawing represents a native Sandwich Islander in the act of brandishing it on the point of a spear, as was formerly the custom.

Sunday, August 4.—I attended the Missionary chapel at seven in the morning, when Mr. Ellis performed Divine service before a large congregation of natives. They listened with apparent attention, but were probably more influenced by vague curiosity than by any real desire of improvement. The Otaheitean converts, acting as catechists, were present, and joined in the psalms, as sung by the

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Missionaries, with melodious voices and seeming earnestness.

August 5.—This morning I went to Coxe, intending to purchase some goats. I expected to find him, as usual, either sleeping, or smoking, or drinking, or busy trafficking like myself. The door of his hut was half open, and I was about to enter unceremoniously, when a scene too striking ever to be forgotten, and which would require the hand of a master painter to do it justice, suddenly arrested my whole attention.

About a dozen natives of both sexes were seated in a circle, on the matted floor of the apartment, and in the midst of them sat John Honoree, the Otaheitean catechist. All eyes were bent upon him; and the variously expressive features of each individual marked the degree of interest excited by what was passing in his mind. So absorbed, indeed, were they in their reflections, that my abrupt appearance at the door created for some time neither interruption nor remark. The speaker held in his hand the Gospel of St. John, as published at Otaheite, and was endeavouring, by signs and familiar illustrations, to render its

contents easy of comprehension. His simple yet energetic manner added weight to his opinions, and proved that he spoke, from personal conviction, the sincere and unpremeditated language of the heart.

The Chief himself stood in the back-ground, a little apart from the rest, leaning upon the shoulder of an attendant. A gleam of light suddenly fell upon his countenance, and disclosed features, on which wonder, anxiety, and seriousness, were imprinted in the strongest characters. He wore no other dress than the *maro* round the waist; but his tall athletic form, and bust seen bending over the other's shoulders, and dignified demeanour, marked at one glance his rank and superiority over all around. One hand was raised instinctively to his head in a pensive attitude. His knitted brows bespoke intense thought; and his piercing black eyes were fixed upon the speaker with an inquiring, penetrating look, as much as to say—"Can what you tell us be really true?" I gazed for some minutes with mute astonishment, turning my regards from one to the other, and dreading to intrude upon the privacy of per-

sons whose time was so usefully employed. At last the Chief turned round, and motioned with his hand, in a dignified manner, for me to withdraw. I did so; but carried away in my heart the remembrance of a scene to which the place, the people, and the occasion, united in attaching a peculiar interest.

I learnt afterwards that Coxe had promised to build a school-house, and present it to the Missionaries for their use: a donation which, considering his acknowledged love of money, affords no mean proof that his inquiries into the truth of the new religion had not been altogether fruitless.

August 6.—I visited the King, and found him carousing with a low Englishman, whom he called his gunner. He was in a very jolly mood, and welcomed me heartily; rather too much so, indeed, as I had some difficulty in resisting his solicitations to push about the bottle with them. Being in want of amusement, he sent the gunner to fire off the guns of the adjoining battery, which I was informed he frequently did when he happened to be in a frolicsome mood; and that he

sometimes continued to divert himself in the same way for hours together.

August 10.—On the afternoon of this day, having taken in all our freight of sandal-wood, and made every preliminary arrangement, we finally left Woahoo and the Sandwich Islands, in company with the American ship Howqua, and pursued our voyage over the Pacific Ocean to Canton. I took an affectionate leave of the Missionaries, and left them my best wishes for the success of their disinterested and benevolent undertaking. I carried away with me a grateful recollection also of the attentions and hospitality I had invariably experienced at the hands of the American Consul and other white residents, as well as the native population.

The King and one of his Queens paid us a farewell visit on board just before our departure; and we in return did our best to entertain them in their favourite way, with wine, spirits, &c. This sort of entertainment at first made them noisy and talkative, then gradually more and more quiet; until at last the King threw himself on one sopha, and the Queen upon the other, and both fell fast

asleep, their attendants in the mean time standing over them as usual with fans to brush away the flies, and singing their own wild, inharmonious lullaby. At last the ship got under weigh, and we were obliged to rouse our royal visitors rather unceremoniously from their slumbers, that they might take their departure, which they accordingly did; and we exchanged for the last time the friendly salutation of 'Ar-rŏ-hă' with much mutual cordiality.

Between twenty and thirty females, who had been living on board with the sailors, according to immemorial usage, still remained, and seemed unwilling to quit the ship. At length, when we had advanced about a mile out of the harbour, they took a most tender leave of their respective sweethearts, and with loud laughter and cries, and huzzas from the crew, leaped overboard in one instant into the sea. There they remained swimming and diving, and playing about the ship, like so many mermaids in their native element, until a breeze sprung up; and as we bounded merrily before it, women and canoes, and houses and the land itself, gradually disappeared from our view.

CHAPTER XIV.

Geography of the Sandwich Islands.— Population.— Traditionary History.—Reign and Character of Tama-hama-hah.—Last Advice to his Son.—Influence of his favourite Chief, Krimakoo. — Succession of Reho-reho, the reigning Monarch.—Narrative of his Visit to Atooi.—Destruction of the Taboo Idolatry.—Rebellion suppressed.—Form of Government.—Power of the King.—Chiefs.—Condition of the People.—Vegetable Productions.—Sandal-wood.—Nature and extent of the Trade.—Amount of Shipping employed.—Speculation to Canton.—Foreign Imports.—King's Revenue.—National Customs.—Superstitions.—Traditions. — Past and present State of the Inhabitants compared.—Evils of foreign Intercourse. — Introduction of Christianity ; — its attendant benefits, and probable future establishment.—Conclusion.

SOME general remarks on the Sandwich Islands, illustrative of and supplementary to the above Narrative, are now added from information collected on the spot.

The group, so designated in honour of his patron by Cook in 1778, are eleven in number, extending from 18° 54′ to 22° 15′ N. latitude,

and from 15° 54′ to 16° 24′ W. longitude. Their names are as follows:—Owhyhee, Mowee, Ranai, Morotoi, Tahoorowa, Woahoo, Atooi, Oneehow, Oneehoua, Morokumee, and Tahoora. The two latter are mere uninhabited rocks. The climate is eminently salubrious and agreeable; the thermometer generally ranging between 70° and 80°, with a constant trade-wind blowing from the N. E. The population of the whole group was, I have reason to believe, over-estimated by Cook at 400,000; and since that time a great decrease has taken place. I walked over the principal part of Woahoo, and should not estimate the population at above 8000, nor that of the whole group, from all that I could learn on the subject, at more than 150,000, by the highest calculation.

When Captain Cook first discovered these islands, they were not united, as they now are, under one King; but governed by a number of independent Chiefs, whose private quarrels and occasional projects of ambition used to involve their respective adherents in constant wars. From an aristocracy so savage and oppressive, the natives were in part delivered by the courage and

enterprising spirit of one Chief, who, by a happy mixture of personal courage and political shrewdness, had rendered himself the first and most powerful individual in Owhyhee. But Tamahama-hah, for so he was called, was not satisfied with this; and, having established his authority on a firm basis in Owhyhee, he proceeded to reduce all the other islands under his authority. Success everywhere attended him; and at Woahoo, where the principal resistance was made, he finally drove the enemy into the heart of the country, pursued them with vigour, and slew their unfortunate leader at Herimino, the place remarkable for the monumental stone already noticed. He was then universally acknowledged as King of the Sandwich Islands, and during a long course of years maintained peaceable but firm possession of the pre-eminence to which his abilities and bravery had raised him. He was soon aware of the important advantages likely to accrue from an intercourse with Europeans, and gave every possible encouragement to settlers and trading vessels. Under his sanction a regular and increasing trade was carried on with English and American

whalers, and with ships employed in the trade between Canton and the North-west coast of America. In Vancouver's time he had learnt to entertain a high respect for the British flag; and the most friendly relations subsisted between the natives and the discovery-ships. He even went so far as to make a formal surrender of his dominions to the King of England, under the idea of securing his protection in case any other foreign nation should endeavour to disturb the tranquillity of the islands. It is not known what pledge Captain Vancouver gave to that effect; but it is certain that a promise was made to send out an armed schooner for their defence. The impression on the mind of Tama-hama-hah, and of Krimakoo, transmitted to the present King Reho-reho, was this,—that King George was their good ally; and the arrival of Captain Kent with the present of an armed schooner afforded a gratifying proof that their good ally King George had not forgotten them.

This vessel made a valuable addition to their little marine establishment, which had been increasing by the purchase of vessels chiefly for the

purposes of trade, by the sale of sandal-wood to the Americans, during the life-time of Tama-ha-ma-hah, and since his death.

The character of Tama-hama-hah was of a superior cast, and the establishment of his authority conduced, more than any other circumstance could have done, towards the growing improvement of his countrymen. That liberality of sentiment which is characteristic of a great mind, marked all stages of his career; and the only exception appears to have been a too great proneness to superstition, and a bigoted attachment to the Taboo system of idolatry. Considering, however, the natural fondness of all men for the religion and customs of their forefathers, such a fault, if fault it really be, in him, as a Pagan, may justly be held excusable.

It was policy, perhaps, after all, which led him to encourage the priests and their religion. Their assistance helped to strengthen his power, and the abject fear thereby created in the minds of the people was constantly turned by him to their mutual advantage. Arbitrary measures, on

the ground of religion, on the one hand, and slavish, reverential obedience on the other, were thus rendered habitual to both parties, and no one dared to resist the united authority of *church and state*, enforced by a King of acknowledged courage and abilities.

His whole history affords a remarkable proof, that the noble qualities, which, even in civilized countries, can be rarely found, notwithstanding "all appliances and means to boot," are sometimes of spontaneous growth in the breast of an untutored savage, whose only law is his own will, and whose will knows no higher motives for action than those which rude nature alone inspires.

Let us now resume our little historical sketch. The last dying words of Tama-hama-hah to his son, enjoined upon him the protection of foreigners, and the cultivation of a friendly intercourse with all nations. He pointed out their great superiority in the arts both of war and peace, the riches and consequent advantages which an extended commerce with them would confer, and the opposite

evils which were likely to follow disagreements with such powerful adversaries.

The young King, Reho-reho, who was twenty years of age at the time of his father's death, neglected no part of his injunctions. The persons and properties of the white inhabitants remained unmolested. Trading vessels were encouraged, and unlimited confidence established as before, between the foreigners and natives. In these and his other measures Reho-reho displayed much vigour. Woahoo, Owhyhee, Mowee, and the other islands, with the exception of Atooi, immediately submitted to his authority; but some doubt was entertained respecting the King of Atooi, who had always held a right of sovereignty in that island; and though he owned allegiance to Tama-hama-hah, it was known to be paid more through fear of his power than otherwise, and therefore no dependance could be placed on a continuance of his fealty. The point was debated with the King, Krimakoo, and the other principal advisers, as to the measures which should be pursued, in case any refractory spirit were to show itself in Atooi;—which ended by a declaration from Reho-reho, to

the effect "that he would manage the whole thing in his own way:" accordingly, he put himself into a small canoe, in spite of their remonstrances, the very same night, with only a few attendants, and made the best of his way to that island.

He fortunately arrived safe, and went at once boldly up to the house of his supposed rival, whom he found surrounded, as usual, by a large party of Chiefs and adherents. Their surprise at so unexpected a visit, was only equalled by what they felt when he declared the purport of it. He came, he said, to receive that submission which had been always paid to his father, and which he now claimed in his own person, as successor, by the acknowledged right of inheritance. "It is mine," he pursued, "to command, yours to obey; —but people say that you meditate resistance. I do not believe them, and throw myself, without fear, upon your sense of honour and hospitality. If you are my enemy in secret, be so now openly, —I am alone, unarmed, and in your power; but if you are my friend, as I hope and believe, merit the confidence reposed in you, by banishing the

remembrance of all past enmities in present cordiality. I hereby offer you my pledge, as King; do you accept it as a faithful subject should do; we will then part friends, and in peace: if not, let each abide by the consequences of his own act."

An appeal so noble, so frank, and so energetic, proved, as it deserved to be, irresistible. The young King was welcomed to Atooi with every demonstration of respect. His demands were complied with, and after a short stay in that island, during which *hourah-hourahs* and other festivities were given in his honour, he returned in state to Woahoo, attended by his brother King and a multitude of his adherents.

In considering this story, one is at a loss which most to admire,—the display of intrepid confidence and chivalrous spirit on the one side, or of generous and honourable feeling on the other; while both evinced that certain elevation of mind, which is, perhaps, more the gift of nature than of education in every country and in every age.

The next act of Reho-reho was not less bold in its conception and execution, and is likely to be productive of the most important and bene-

ficial consequences. The whole Taboo system of idolatrous religion, which had existed from time immemorial, and is described at large by Cook and Vancouver, was radically abolished; all superstitious restrictions, such as those which prohibited the women from eating pork and cocoa-nuts, &c., or from taking their meals in company with the men, were set aside; and the priests, who no longer had any duties to perform, and no religious principle to influence their conduct, yielded a ready obedience to the authority of the King, and acquiesced without hesitation in this important change. The *morais*, or temples, with their blood-stained altars, upon which human victims had been so often immolated to appease the supposed wrath of Heaven, were universally levelled with the ground.

The images were committed to the flames; and so complete was the work of destruction, that, in the course of a few months, neither sacrifices nor religious observances of any sort were kept, or even thought of, by the inhabitants.

So entire a revolution, which disunited religion from politics, in opposition to the known system of the late King, could not fail to breed discontent

in some quarters; and accordingly a partial rebellion broke out in the island of Owhyhee, where a powerful Chief, who possessed the god of Tama-hama-hah, endeavoured to restore the ancient religion of the country: but this was productive of no other effect than to afford Reho-reho an opportunity of displaying his great superiority and courage. He lost no time in collecting a body of his warriors, and attacking the enemy, whom with the assistance of Krimakoo he completely routed, destroyed the Chief with about sixty of his followers, and obliged the rest to lay down their arms and submit to the exercise of his authority.

Hannah-rourah, in Woahoo, is the usual place of residence of Reho-reho. It is a pretty straggling village, the huts being for the most part surrounded by small enclosures, and not laid out with any regularity in streets. It probably contains between two and three thousand inhabitants.

The scheme of Government is nearly the same as in the time of Tama-hama-hah; that is, simply and strictly arbitrary, there being no limitation, direct or indirect, to the power of the King. In

all the islands, except Atooi, he appoints governors to fill his place, and like him to exercise arbitrary authority. At Atooi, the principal Chief is considered in the light of a tributary though hereditary king,—a distinction which shows, that though he is tributary, he possesses power of his own right, and stands on a different footing from other Chiefs.

The King then is a complete autocrat—all power, all property, all persons, are at his disposal: the Chiefs receive grants of land from him, which they divide and let out again in lots to their dependants, who cultivate it for the use of the Chief, reserving a portion for their own subsistence. The cultivators are not paid for their labour, nor, on the other hand, do they pay a regular rent for the land. They are expected to send presents of pigs, poultry, tarrow, and other provisions, to the Chief, from time to time, together with any little sums of money which they may have acquired in trade, or any other property which it may suit the fancy or the convenience of the great man to take. This arbitrary system is a sad hindrance to the pros-

perity of the tenant; for if he is disposed to be industrious, and bring his land into good cultivation, or raise a good breed of live stock, and becomes rich in possessions, the Chief is soon informed of it, and the property is seized for his use, whilst the farmer loses the fruit of all his labours.

This state of things, as between the King and his Chiefs, is little more than theoretical; but as between the Chiefs and their dependants, it exists mischievously in practice: hence the great stimulus to industry being removed, the people live and vegetate, without making any exertions beyond what the command of the Chief and the care of their own subsistence force upon them.

One day in a week, or a fortnight, as occasion may require, the tenants are required to work upon the private estate of the Chief. I have seen hundreds—men, women and children—at once employed in this way on the tarrow-plantations: all hands turn out, for they assist each other in a body, and thus get through the work with greater expedition and ease.

When a *kanaka*, or tenant, refuses to obey the

order of his Chief, the most severe and summary punishment is inflicted on him, namely, confiscation of his property. An instance in point happened to occur while I was staying at Why-arouah. Coxe had given orders to some hundreds of his people to repair to the woods by an appointed day to cut sandal-wood. The whole obeyed, except one man, who had the folly and hardihood to refuse. Upon this, his house was set fire to, and burnt to the ground on the very day: still he refused to go. The next process was to seize his possessions, and turn his wife and family off the estate; which would inevitably have been done, if he had not allowed discretion to take the place of valour, and made a timely submission, to prevent this extremity. It has been before said, that no compensation is made to the labourers for their work, except a small grant of land. This, however, does not prevent the Chief, if kindly disposed, from distributing supplies of *maros, tappers,* cloth, &c. gratuitously among them. I have heard that Krimakoo once distributed no less than three thousand blankets among his people.

The King exercises absolute dominion over the sea as well as over the land; and in the same way lets out the right of fishery along the coast to his Chiefs. He can, whenever he pleases, taboo* the sea, that is, interdict every person from fishing for a certain time; and at those times no one even thinks of opposing his order. He takes care to turn this privilege of tabooing to good account, upon suitable occasions. While we were at Hannah-rourah, there happened to be a great demand for provisions to supply the shipping, several foreign vessels being in port at that time: he accordingly took the opportunity of tabooing potatoes. All the farmers who had a stock on hand, were then obliged to give them up without remuneration; and by thus monopolizing the trade, he supplied the market on his own terms.

* The term *Taboo*, in its strict original signification, is only applicable to the religious restrictions of the ancient system of idolatry. Owing, however, to the intimate connexion between politics and religion, the influence of the latter was often called into the service of the former, and by the use of the term Taboo, political restrictions became considered as religious obligations. But when the religion of the country was overthrown, the necessity for political restrictions, such as those here spoken of, continuing the same, the term Taboo was still used to express them. It is now adopted in common parlance to signify any kind of interdiction, as at p. 474, l. 19.

From the above observations it will be evident that no regular system of government is pursued either by the King or Chiefs; but that they constitute a powerful and rich aristocracy, to which the people are subject, and render through fear or habit the most implicit obedience. There are no laws, no rules of any sort, to counterpoise the two extremes of tyranny and servitude. There are no middling classes—no artificers, no tradesmen, properly so called. The lower orders of people are employed in agriculture or fishing. Formerly a small branch of red and yellow feathers used to be the most valuable commodity, and the circulating medium. Dollars have now supplied their place, and thus made a step in the facilities of trade.

Murder, and robberies accompanied by violence, are absolutely unknown. Pilferings are punishable, when detected, by the forfeiture of property: but the vice of stealing, so much complained of by our early voyagers, appears to be now less practised by the natives than in former times. There are, however, some symptoms of a police-regulation, in the case of foreigners, as a protection to trade; for

on the arrival of a ship, some confidential person is sent on board by the King to prevent stealing, and put a check upon every other improper practice.

Among the higher orders the rank of Chief is hereditary. To the question, Is nobility of mind generally more prevalent among the favoured few, than among the plebeian followers? I should answer in the affirmative: the word of a Chief in the Sandwich Islands may be relied on, and their minds have, from some cause, acquired an elevation or conscious sense of superiority. This is discoverable at first sight in their gait and manner; and in stature they are, with few exceptions, much taller than the common people, and consequently much respected by them. The same may be said of the females of that class, who are equally proud of their nobility of birth, and of their stature, and equally respected for it: some of them are equally powerful with the men,—of which there is an instance in Opuiia, the widow of Tama-hama-hah, who, though since married to another Chief, retains her accustomed influence, and would, it is said, exercise the supreme power

in case of the death of Reho-reho during the minority of her nephew.

By the Chiefs, then, thus pre-eminent in rank and power, are all the advantages of every sort monopolized: they are the only traders upon a large or profitable scale. The warlike sports of their fathers have been softened down in them. No wars ever now interrupt the public peace. Military weapons are out of fashion; nor is the King surrounded, as in former times, by a crowd of armed attendants. He derives a revenue from trade; and, on selfish principles, in every sense, he sees the importance of encouraging it.

This must be considered as a new state of things, indicative of actual improvement, and material changes in the temper, and spirit, and condition of the people, and in the policy and liberality of the Government. In the time of old Tama-hama-hah, a spirit of jealousy strongly prevailed between the King and Chiefs, which led him, from his ignorance of more refined policy, into petty measures for preserving his authority, by keeping the Chiefs, at that time a warlike race, under rigid control. His usual residence was in

Owhyhee, at a place not far distant from the spot where Captain Cook was killed. He chose this spot for his residence, precisely because it was barren, and, from the poverty of the soil, not easily rendered productive; at the same time he compelled those Chiefs upon whom he could least rely for peaceable conduct, to reside there also, in order that they might be in his immediate neighbourhood; thus watching them, and making them dependent on him even for necessary subsistence. Large storehouses were accordingly built, from which he gave out or withheld all supplies of provisions and other necessary articles, at his own good will and pleasure; and in this manner retained their fierce spirits in a state of abject subjection. Such was the policy of Tama-hama-hah, which happily is now no longer necessary, nor suitable to the obedient habits of the Chiefs, through the progress and influence of trade—that powerful agent in regulating the affairs of the moral world!

It would be no easy task to give an account of the trade and navigation of such mere beginners, upon a systematic plan; and it may, therefore, be

better, as well as most convenient, to comprise the particulars, such as they are, in a few miscellaneous observations, anecdotes, and facts, as affording at the same time a familiar picture of the actual state of the commercial intercourse of these islands with foreign countries.

Sandal-wood, with which these islands abound, is the great article of foreign trade. The Americans are the only carriers, and Canton is the only market for it. It is difficult to ascertain the extent of exportation of this article, though it must evidently be considerable, for several coasting vessels are constantly employed in bringing it to the port from distant parts; and the American merchants are known to have made large profits by it. I have, however, been informed, that during the last eighteen months from 35 to 40,000 peculs of sandal-wood had been sent to Canton, which, at the rate of ten dollars per pecul, the usual price, brings into the hands of the King and trading Chiefs a clear receipt of 350 or 400,000 dollars, paid in goods bearing that nominal value. I say a clear receipt, for the expenses of cutting and shipping it are absolutely nothing; the services of

the labourers employed being gratuitous, according to the practice of the country.

Sandal-wood must be considered at present as the only production of these islands fit for foreign trade, but it is not likely to become exhausted for a considerable period of time to come; large forests of it still remain untouched, particularly at Owhyhee. The quality of it is said to be inferior to that grown in India, and the market price proportionably less: at Canton the price is now only eight dollars per pecul. It is brought from the woods in logs three or four feet long, and from two to seven or eight inches in diameter. There being no carriages on the island, these logs are carried down to the sea-side on the heads and shoulders of men, women, and children, (for all bear a part in the busy scene,) and lodged in large store-houses, to be ready for shipment. The wood, in its green state, has little or no aromatic smell; but when it becomes dry, the odour sensibly impregnates the whole surrounding atmosphere.

For conveying their sandal-wood from the distant parts of Woahoo and the other Sandwich Islands to the port of Hannah-rourah, about

twelve small brigs and schooners are now employed in place of the large canoes formerly in use for this and other purposes. They are also engaged in bringing provisions of various sorts for the ships, particularly for South Sea whalers, and traders to the North-west coast of America; which, without having any commercial intercourse with these islands, touch there for these necessary supplies, in their passage across the Pacific Ocean. During the short time I was at Woahoo, there lay twelve vessels, of various nations and tonnage, at anchor in the port; and during the season, no fewer than sixty whalers, bound principally to a valuable newly-discovered fishery on the coast of Japan, came in for supplies of fresh provisions, which is enough to give a spur to industry and cultivation for at least such productions; though there is abundant room for the increase of foreign and domestic trade, which will of course follow the march of civilization and wealth.

The productions which are common to these and other islands in the South Seas have been frequently described by different voyagers, and I shall, therefore, mention only a few which are

suitable for foreign trade, or are otherwise remarkable for some valuable properties. Among these are cotton, wine, coffee, which I have already mentioned, but the growth of which at present is not encouraged; and tobacco, which is raised in considerable quantities, for domestic use, the people being much addicted to the habit of smoking: a small plantation of it is generally to be found in the garden of every hut, together with the sugar-cane, sweet potatoes, melons, water-melons, and other fruits. I do not believe any attempt has been made to manufacture sugar from the cane, even in the rudest way. The cocoa-nut tree and bread-fruit tree are very abundant—particularly the former. The *teĕ-root* affords, when pressed, a saccharine juice, which yields a good spirit when fermented and distilled. It also makes an excellent beer, with the usual necessary additions. The leaves of this valuable shrub are small, but furnish excellent fodder for goats and other animals. The *ononah* is a sort of hemp which grows in the mountains, from which nets and twine of great strength and durability are made. The *too-tooe*

nuts have some resemblance to the horse-chestnut, and a number of them being strung together, they are commonly used by the inhabitants instead of candles. The *morus papyrifera,* or paper mulberry-tree, affords a good substitute for cloth. This plant arrives at perfection in twelve months. The cloth is made from the inner bark of the stem, carefully peeled off, and beaten out in a wet state, upon a stone, with a small square piece of wood; it is afterwards stamped with a diversity of patterns, and various colours extracted from indigenous vegetable substances.

As cultivation produces trade, so shipping and navigation are the necessary handmaids of it.—Already are there a number of square-rigged vessels required by the growth of commerce, and substituted for the large canoes which the early voyagers describe. They are navigated by the natives, many of whom have learnt a little seamanship in occasional voyages in American or other traders; but the command is generally given to some English or American seaman. These natives are bold, enterprising, and, for the most part fortunate in their little expedi-

tions: the natural tranquillity of this great ocean, which is never disturbed by hurricanes, gives confidence, by diminishing in a great degree the usual risks of navigation; indeed, the almost amphibious nature of the people, who under the worst circumstances would be sure to preserve their own lives, renders accidents on the water very uncommon. Krimakoo has the reputation of being a most clever and courageous seaman. He certainly has great confidence in himself, and always takes command of the vessel in which he sails, and in which he makes frequent trips to the different islands. Before I left the island, however, he had got himself into a scrape; by losing the little schooner which had been sent by the British Government as a present to Reho-reho. It was the first voyage he had made in her; and, whether by mismanagement or bad luck, he ran her aground among the breakers at the back of Woahoo, where she was completely wrecked. Krimakoo, together with the crew, saved themselves as usual by swimming, and returned to tell their own tale.

A fine yacht, built originally by an American

gentleman for a voyage to the Mediterranean, had been sent to Woahoo for sale, which the King bought for 20,000 dollars. She was called the Cleopatra's Barge, and to catch his Sable Majesty had been fitted up in a style of considerable elegance; but she had not been long in his possession, when the timbers on one side were found to be decayed, and the ship altogether not sea-worthy. He had therefore no alternative but to dismantle and break her up, and in that way endeavour to make the best of a bad bargain.

The King, in allusion to this transaction, told me one day, that the Americans had cheated him, by selling rotten ships; but that the English had generously presented him with a good ship for nothing. He liked the English, therefore, and would always be happy to show them every attention in his power.

Before I dismiss the subject of shipping and trade, I shall here give a short account of a voyage undertaken two years ago from the Sandwich Islands to Canton, which is particularly remarkable, as being made on the King's own account.

and the first speculation of the kind ever entered into by these islanders. In pursuance of a settled plan, a vessel was laden with sandal-wood, and dispatched in the regular way to Canton, manned chiefly by natives, and the command given to an European seaman, without much inquiry or discrimination as to character. The vessel arrived safe at that port; but the Chinese authorities, surprised at seeing a new flag,* with which they were unacquainted, demanded the name of the King and nation to which it belonged, and were told that it belonged to the King of the Sandwich Islands.

The subject, we may presume, was properly discussed; for it was finally declared that the King of a barbarous country, never before heard of, was incompetent to establish commercial intercourse with the Celestial Empire, and his vessel was accordingly not allowed to proceed up the river to Canton. The Captain came to an anchor, therefore, in Macao Roads, and contrived to sell his

* The Sandwich Island flag is composed of the English jack, and a number of stripes like those of the American flag, in allusion probably to the number of islands.

cargo advantageously in that out-port. So far the undertaking may be said to have been successful; but unfortunately the Captain, a low seaman, was, as might have been expected, unfit for his situation. From inexperience, or some other cause, no return cargo was provided; the profits of the outward voyage were dissipated, and the ship returned, after considerable delays, with a debt of no trifling magnitude for the King to discharge, which he did, after a long interval, by sending the value for that purpose in sandal-wood to Canton.

The import trade consists of whales' teeth, an article much prized by these people, which the whalers give in exchange for provisions; silks and cloths, which are more articles of luxury and show than use. Of these latter the King and principal Chiefs generally keep large assortments by them, and dresses of various sorts, which are worn according to the whim of the moment, or on great occasions. Red is the favourite colour, and it is common for the females to exchange their *tappers* for girdles of red cloth, which they put

on when they wish to make themselves peculiarly smart. Gunpowder and fire-arms have been introduced in very large quantities, together with all sorts of domestic utensils and hardware.

The revenue of the King arises from several sources:—First, from presents voluntarily given as a sort of tribute by the Chiefs and the people generally; Secondly, from the arbitrary seizure of private property, according to the Taboo custom, for the sake of the monopoly of trade with foreign ships; Thirdly, from the sale of sandal-wood, and profit on the goods taken in exchange, which he sells, as a regular merchant, wholesale and retail, to the inhabitants; Fourthly, from harbour-duties paid by all ships entering the port of Hannah-rourah.

The degree of civilization hitherto attained will be best judged of by the preceding Narrative and observations. That it is not in itself very considerable, must be sufficiently obvious; but compared with the state of things in Cook's and Vancouver's time, the changes are certainly important. Political union, public tranquillity, and gentle habits of life, have succeeded to party

feuds, continual warfare, and savage ferocity: instead of a divided and lawless aristocracy, the King and his Chiefs compose a united corps of peaceable merchants, whose principal object is to become rich by the pursuits of trade.

The old maxim, *cedant arma togæ*, has been completely verified among them; and the introduction of fire-arms, so far from encouraging a warlike spirit, only tends to create amusement, or to gratify a harmless pride. Brigs and schooners are now substituted in a great measure for canoes, and no mean proficiency is shown by the natives in common seamanship: except the use of the mariner's compass, however, they have gained no knowledge of navigation, nor have they yet acquired the art of building or repairing ships. In this respect they are entirely dependent upon foreigners. The universal circulation of silver specie and iron utensils, instead of feather and stone, must not be omitted under the head of improvements. The use of cloth, nankeens, silks, blankets, and other articles of clothing, is as yet chiefly confined to holidays and particular occasions; *maros* and *tappers* of

island manufacture being the only dress commonly worn. Blankets and cloth cinctures are nevertheless becoming, as I have already observed, more and more prevalent.

With a taste for foreign goods no attempt at imitating them has sprung up, and the progress of industry does not seem to have been accelerated by foreign intercourse. The productions of the country continue the same, and the tarrow-plantations alone furnish any regular agricultural employment. The trade in sandal-wood even, though the staple commodity, affords an unsteady demand for labour, the Chiefs requiring the services of their dependants in the woods, from time to time, on the spur of the occasion. The people may be said, therefore, to lead a life of indolence and ease; happy, because devoid of care, and liberally supplied by Nature with the means of subsistence in a delicious climate, but not remarkable for great ingenuity or regularly industrious habits.

The Chiefs have more causes for excitement, and the love of wealth rouses in some degree the latent energies of their minds; but in general they, also, are indolent and averse to regular em-

ployment. Like other Indians, they sleep away their days, and know no higher gratifications than those of sense. The possession of foreign goods is sought after, more for the sake of novelty and fashion, than because they are really wanted; and few understand their use, or appreciate their value, except in a mercantile point of view.

The love of gambling, though generally prevalent, is not greater than among other nations of the world, whether civilized or uncivilized: none but the Chiefs can indulge to any extent in so expensive a vice. Drunkenness is a far more universal and dangerous propensity, all classes indulging, more or less, to excess in the use of spirituous liquors, from the King himself downwards: the consumption, therefore, is enormous; and those who trade in spirits give it, of course, every possible encouragement. Gin, being most approved of by the King, is the most fashionable of spirituous liquors. How far the use of *ava*, which formerly prevailed, but is now in a great measure discontinued, might have been attended with still worse consequences, is an inquiry that cannot easily be answered: at all events, the pernicious effects of spirits are now

demonstrated in a striking manner; and, by enervating the mental and bodily powers of the inhabitants, not less than by wasting life, constitute a powerful obstacle to the farther progress of improvement.

Thus it is that commerce and intercourse with foreigners has been attended with a mixture of evil and beneficial results; and it might almost, at first sight, be doubted whether the former do not preponderate. One great national change, however, the credit of effecting which is altogether due to the present King,* decidedly turns the scale in favour of modern times; namely, the abolition of a cruel and superstitious system of idolatry. No senseless images are now worshipped—no crafty priests abuse the credulity of an ignorant people—no human victims bleed upon the altars of imaginary deities!

* It may be interesting to some readers to learn that Rehoreho, the King referred to in this and the preceding pages of the Narrative, is the same person whose recent adventures in London, and melancholy death, excited at the time so much observation and concern. The Queen who came with him is the one mentioned as his favourite Queen, or rather mistress, and the attendants were the same, although not here particularly noticed by me.

A sort of interregnum has arisen between the destruction of the old and the introduction of a new religion; and the change, as far as it goes, without reckoning upon the probable future consequences, is certainly beneficial.

A number of ancient usages have passed away, with the Taboo system to which they belonged, and render the descriptions of the traveller necessarily less diversified and curious; but happily, in this respect at least, the inhabitants are gainers, by what the mere traveller may consider as the loss of interesting matter.

The *hourah-hourahs* are now seldom celebrated, and not attended with the same ceremonies which used formerly to characterize them. Mock-fights and martial games have ceased to be favourite amusements; and the spectacle of a fleet of canoes, some double, some single, containing in them an army of warriors, cannot be again ever witnessed.

Still there are many of the old national customs and peculiarities remaining. A vague belief in the existence of a Supreme Being, when one asks the question, is generally acknowledged;

the propriety of appeasing his wrath and meriting his favour is likewise instinctively felt; but the ignorance of unassisted Nature cannot point out the use of right means, and the subject therefore seldom comes under consideration. Superstitious fears will, nevertheless, at times intrude upon their thoughts; and dreams are often held to be portentous.

The idea of a future state of rewards and punishments seems to be entertained in the same vague way.

The tradition of a deluge has been preserved. The story told is this:—That a certain man, many thousand *moons* ago, was fishing in the sea, and by some curious fatality caught the Spirit of the waters upon his hook, and dragged him, to his great astonishment, out of the briny element. The consequences of this rash act were destructive to the whole country, the Spirit having declared in his anger that he would cause a general deluge: yet, in pity to the unintentional author of the misfortune, he allowed him to escape with his wife to the summit of Mounah-roah, the

mountain in Owhyhee, where he remained till after the deluge had subsided, and was thus preserved.

The belief in a bad demon is pretty general; and many are afraid to go out of their houses on a dark night. The said demon is supposed to have frequently made his appearance in the form of a white dog. Supernatural powers are still ascribed to lizards, and during the Taboo system they were worshipped.

The influence of the moon is much thought of; and at certain periods, after the death of any person, his relations chant funeral dirges in remembrance of him. The night of the full moon is kept with rejoicings, and large crowds assemble together for that purpose.

The extraordinary custom of cutting the body of the dead into pieces, and afterwards burying it under the house of the deceased, deserves to be mentioned. The ceremony is attended with much mystery, and probably arises from some traditionary superstition. Sometimes a small shed is erected, with white poles, upwards of twenty feet

in length, piled round in the form of a pyramid, to mark the spot where the remains have been deposited.

On the birth of a child, it is immediately named, and all the neighbours assemble to drink, and sing their *hourah-hourahs*. The unnatural practice of infanticide continues to prevail, and abortions are still more frequent; the women not only disliking the trouble of rearing children, but dreading the loss of personal charms thereby occasioned, and the consequent diminution of their influence over the other sex.

The only ceremony used in marriage, is that of throwing a tapper cloth round the bodies of both persons. The common people generally confine themselves to one wife; the Chiefs have two or three; the King, four. Though chastity is by no means considered a virtue, or the reverse of it a blemish, it is not unusual for a Chief to taboo particular females at an early age, and thus to secure an exclusive right of property in them, which no one would even think of violating. When a man wishes to change his wife, he is

allowed by the custom of the country to contract with another; but he is not allowed to turn away the first. She will always continue to live in his house and to share his fortunes.

Comparing the past with the present state of things, important advances in civilization are certainly visible, and many impediments in the way of still greater advances have been removed. Commerce, however, and intercourse with foreign traders, although it may create new wants and give a taste for new luxuries, cannot produce those higher changes in the condition of man which complete the work of civilization; the moral waste every where apparent must be cultivated, the mental faculties must receive nurture, and the seeds of virtue must be sown in the heart, before any visible national improvements can be satisfactorily effected: nor will the simple introduction of new arts insure the desired benefits, unless some counteracting check to their attendant evils be at the same time brought into play.

The Sandwich Islanders have lost their warlike virtues, and the barbarous yet unsophisticated

habits of ancient times: but they are ignorant of the first elements of morality; and vice reigns triumphant in their abodes, under the form of covetousness, sensuality, indolence, and irreligion. Their own native arts and manufactures are sinking fast into neglect and disrepute, and no other arts to supply the place have been taught them by the sordid traders, who are interested in perpetuating their ignorance. Sad indeed, therefore, in a moral point of view, is their condition; and sadder yet would it be, had not the benevolence of distant nations taken steps to communicate a share of the blessings which they themselves enjoy! The prospect opened by the labours of a few disinterested and enlightened teachers of religion is now truly gratifying; and so many concurrent circumstances favour their cause, that its success, in God's own time, may reasonably be anticipated.

With Christianity the march of true civilization will be progressive and beneficial. The evils of infanticide and promiscuous intercourse between the sexes, and of polygamy and drunkenness, may

then be expected gradually to give way. Regular laws, and just measures of domestic policy, may ameliorate the present system of arbitrary government, and encourage the industry of individuals, by securing the rights of private property. A knowledge of European arts, as well as letters—for both enter into the designs of the Missionaries—may replace advantageously the arts which have been neglected or given up, and rouse the inhabitants from their present state of indolence into habits of regular exertion. Native youths are now under a course of education in America for this purpose, and cannot fail, on their return, to confer some if not all the advantages that might be wished for. Finally, the temples of a pure worship may be established, and the total absence of all religion, which now unhappily prevails, be superseded by the administration of Christian ordinances and the cultivation of Christian graces. That this delightful picture will be in part, if not altogether realised, ere many years elapse, is the writer's hope and confident expectation. To his incredulous and less sanguine readers, he would adduce the past and present

state of Otaheite, confirmed as it is by the unanimous testimony of all recent eye-witnesses, in support and illustration of his positions. In the mean while, it rests with time and Providence to determine the final issue of events in these remote and semi-barbarous regions.

THE END.

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